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RESEARCH AID

**CURRENT CHINESE LEADERSHIP: BACKGROUND,
ASSOCIATIONS, AND ISSUES FOR SELECTED KEY
MILITARY LEADERS**

*A Report Prepared under an Interagency Agreement
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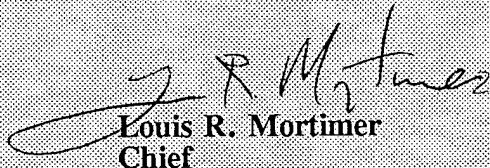
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PREFACE

This research aid provides comprehensive background information on 60 military leaders selected from the Party and State Military Commissions, the Ministry of National Defense, PLA general departments and services, the National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission, and the military region commands.

The information in Appendixes A and B of this report, current as of 30 September 1985, was generated from a computerized database and is presented according to 11 fields of background information. The database was derived from a variety of Chinese sources including Xinhua News Agency reports, Beijing Review, and provincial radio broadcasts; standard biographic dictionaries in both Chinese and English; and secondary sources, primarily Western, which provide analyses on the Chinese leaders.

Appendix C analyzes 10 key issues in China's military modernization program and includes excerpts of statements concerning these issues made by selected military leaders between 1 June 1984 and 1 September 1985.

CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| SUMMARY | vii |
| GLOSSARY | xi |
| INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX A | 1 |
| Table A1: IDENTIFICATION OF MILITARY LEADERS | 2 |
| Table A2: DATE OF BIRTH | 10 |
| Table A3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH | 14 |
| Table A4: PARTICIPATION IN HISTORICAL EVENTS | 18 |
| Table A5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCES | 23 |
| Table A6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION | 27 |
| Table A7: SOVIET UNION CONNECTIONS | 32 |
| Table A8: UNITED STATES CONNECTIONS | 37 |
| Table A9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATIONS | 42 |
| Table A10: BRANCH OF SERVICE | 46 |
| Table A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES | 50 |
| INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX B | 61 |
| Table B1: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS | 62 |
| Table B2: AGE ASSOCIATIONS | 72 |
| Table B3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH ASSOCIATIONS | 78 |
| Table B4: HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION ASSOCIATIONS | 82 |
| Table B5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION ASSOCIATIONS | 86 |
| Table B6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION ASSOCIATIONS | 89 |
| Table B7: SOVIET CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS | 93 |
| Table B8: UNITED STATES CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS | 97 |
| Table B9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATION ASSOCIATIONS | 101 |
| Table B10: BRANCH OF SERVICE ASSOCIATIONS | 104 |
| Table B11: FOREIGN TRAVEL ASSOCIATIONS | 109 |
| INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX C | 115 |
| 1. GENERAL GOALS | 116 |
| Table C1: GENERAL GOALS | 117 |
| 2. IDEOLOGICAL FOCUSES | 119 |
| Table C2: IDEOLOGICAL FOCUSES | 120 |
| 3. CADRES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM | 121 |
| Table C3: CADRES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM | 122 |
| 4. ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS | 124 |
| Table C4: ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS | 125 |
| 5. PARTY-MILITARY RELATIONS | 127 |
| Table C5: PARTY-MILITARY RELATIONS | 128 |
| 6. STATE-MILITARY RELATIONS | 130 |
| Table C6: STATE-MILITARY RELATIONS | 131 |
| 7. MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONS | 132 |
| Table C7: MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONS | 133 |

| | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| 8. MILITARY TRAINING AND EDUCATION | 134 |
| Table C8: MILITARY TRAINING AND EDUCATION | 135 |
| 9. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT | 136 |
| Table C9: RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT | 137 |
| 10. WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT DEVELOPMENT | 139 |
| Table C10: WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT DEVELOPMENT | 140 |
| SOURCES | 141 |

ILLUSTRATION

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Map - China | xiii |
|-------------------|------|

SUMMARY

Following meetings of the Central Military Commission in May and September 1985, and the National Conference of Party Delegates in September 1985, a series of major "readjustments" or staffing and organizational changes occurred within the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Although in recent years a significant portion of the PLA leadership could have been characterized as being unassociated with political leaders or ideologies, and being concerned mainly with military professionalism, the current "readjusted" PLA leadership appears to be closely associated with both the implementation of the Party-originated reforms and military professionalism.

This change was reflected in the reconstitution of the Political Bureau in September 1985 with the removal of six military leaders believed to have been in moderate or conservative political orientation groups vis-a-vis the reform programs. In addition, the full members remaining on the Political Bureau oversee essential and specific professional military functions on the Central Military Commission (Yang Shangkun), the General Staff Department (Yang Dezhi), and the General Political Department (Yu Qiuli).

An overview of the PLA leadership has been provided by summarizing the findings of the tabulated data for key career factors. A summation of the issues basic to the current military modernization or reform program in China and addressed by the senior PLA leaders is also supplied.

PLA Career Factors

The average age of senior PLA leaders is 63. This estimate is likely to be high, however, because the date of birth for one-third of the leaders is unknown. Central policy has required restaffing with younger cadres. Therefore, many of the recent appointees for whom birthdates are unavailable, probably are younger than the average age. The age grouping of recent appointments for whom information is available is 45-54 years.

The existing data show Sichuan (six leaders) and Hubei (three leaders) as the most heavily represented provinces of birth. The Deng Group is most prevalent in Sichuan with three leaders so aligned. Data concerning province of birth are lacking for 64 percent (39 leaders) of the sample.

Regarding participation in key historical events, 17 percent (10 leaders) participated in the Korean War; 22 percent (13 leaders) undertook the Long March, and 5 percent (three leaders) participated in the Vietnam Border War. Although the data are scarce, recent appointees purportedly are younger and are likely participants in the Vietnam Border War. No data concerning historical participation are available for 70 percent (42 leaders).

Senior PLA leaders are fully supportive of Deng's political leadership, particularly his reform programs. Seventy-five percent of the leadership sample have political orientations with the Deng Group (six leaders) and Deng Supporter Group (45 leaders). While most members of the Deng Group are at least 75 years old, those in the Deng Supporter Group are relatively young (58 years old). Key leaders classified as conservative, such as Ye Jianying and Xu Xiangqian, lost their influential positions in September 1985. There now

are no senior PLA leaders with a conservative political orientation and those considered moderate number only 12 percent (seven leaders) of the sample.

The data indicate that PLA leaders who rose to prominence or played an active role during the Cultural Revolution are less likely to have retained their high positions now than those who were purged during the Cultural Revolution and later rehabilitated. Only one PLA leader, a moderate, benefited from his Cultural Revolution experience; 11 are survivors, but according to their political orientation, they overwhelmingly (91 percent) support Deng's programs. Of the 28 who were purged and later rehabilitated, 71 percent support Deng's programs. The Cultural Revolution experiences for 52 percent of the sample remain unknown.

Of the leaders with known contacts with the Soviet Union since 1949, only two have participated in talks with Soviet officials and five made one or more trips to the Soviet Union. Seventy percent (42 leaders) have had no known Soviet contacts, but this conclusion may be overstated. Information concerning Soviet technical training both in the Soviet Union and in China during the 1950s for the most recent, and probably younger appointees is lacking. Yet many recent appointees may well have had this training.

Leaders with known United States contacts average 71 years, making them older than the sample's average age of 63 years. Previously, US contacts were made largely through PLA leaders' participation in the Korean War, 15 percent of this sample (nine leaders). Since Deng's reform emphasis has been on opening to the West, 28 percent (17 leaders), all grouped with the Deng or Deng Supporter Group, have been involved in US travel or talks. Six of these 17 leaders have scientific and technical responsibilities. Sixty percent (36 leaders) have had no US contacts.

The current specializations of 30 percent (18 leaders) indicate that they have direct operational command responsibilities for implementing the reform programs. Seventy-two percent (13 leaders) are grouped with Deng or the Deng Supporter Group, but twenty-two percent (four leaders) are considered moderates. This is a small proportion but the largest grouping of moderates within one specific functional category. Twenty percent of the PLA leadership group (12 leaders) have scientific and technical responsibilities and are believed to be appropriately classified with the Deng Supporter Group.

Sixty-eight percent (41 leaders) of the leaders are members of the PLA ground forces, 85 percent (35 leaders) are supporters of Deng and his program; 12 percent (five leaders) are moderates. Eighty-eight percent (eight leaders) of the PLA Air Force and 2d Artillery are aligned with the Deng Supporter Group. The political orientation of one leader is unknown. The Navy leadership profile, on the other hand, has three leaders (60 percent) grouped with the Deng Supporter Group, and two leaders (40 percent) grouped with the Moderates. While the Air Force and 2d Artillery are represented on the CCP Central Committee, the Navy is not.

The database suggests that 42 percent (25 leaders) have had foreign travel experiences, mainly since 1977. The United States was the country most frequently visited (9 visits), followed by Romania and North Korea (DPRK), with seven visits each. Altogether, 36 countries were visited by PLA leaders.

Key Military Modernization and Reform Issues

The senior PLA officials whose professional careers have been examined also play key roles in developing and clarifying the major issues of military modernization. According to their statements, they envision the Party-originated reforms as leading to a PLA which is well-disciplined, motivated, led by younger, more technically trained and competent officers, and active in promoting and participating in national construction. Their contributions to the civilian economy include the transfer of military technology to civilian industries; converting or lending military facilities such as airfields, shipping facilities and railroads for civilian use; and demobilizing PLA cadres who are believed to have some management and organizational experience into the civilian workplace. The extensive force reductions, aimed at one million members over the next 2 years, also are intended to provide a more focused and centralized command structure, and to free-up funds that can be devoted both to further weapons research and development, and to acquiring from abroad, selected modern weapons and equipment.

Training and recruitment qualifications for both officers and troops are being raised and reflect the accelerated effort to shift the military establishment from a peasant-based Army to a professional establishment. In the field, emphasis is being given to the PLA's ability to fight with combined service arms, react quickly, handle sophisticated equipment and improve logistical support.

In defining the PLA's current "active defense strategy," senior leaders continue to pay homage to Mao Zedong's military strategy, but urge PLA academies to teach cybernetics, defense economics, global and regional power strategies, and world military history. The general guidance regarding weapons and equipment modernization is to rely on indigenous development and upgrading for most items while importing some materiel, mainly the highly technical varieties such as night-vision equipment, lasers and automated weapons control systems, which otherwise would require a lengthy and expensive research and development period.

The PLA's designated functions under the Party's program for national construction, if successfully carried out, will contribute simultaneously to PLA modernization. For example, strengthening the petroleum, communications and transport sectors of the economy with demobilized PLA personnel and PLA facilities will build a stronger military-industrial complex. Simplifying the heretofore sprawling PLA bureaucracy and improving the educational and technical expertise of its leadership contributes to laying a good foundation for a military system competent to engage in modern warfare by managing and deploying modern weaponry and equipment. Although the Chinese leadership assigns a fourth position to defense in the Four Modernizations program, the military establishment actually might be modernized to a great extent through participating in the realization of the three higher priorities.

There are two closely related qualifications concerning PLA prospects for a successful role in the Four Modernizations and its own modernization. First, reform measures must continue to be introduced at a pace that does not disrupt PLA discipline so that PLA leaders remain confident that stability can be maintained within their commands. Secondly, the reform contents must not

become so radical or extreme that key military leadership support is alienated. The extensive military leadership changes in 1985, which strengthened Deng's political authority and eliminated potential key opponents, suggest that the existing PLA reform measures, under Deng's leadership, are unlikely to become extreme and will not encounter serious opposition.

GLOSSARY

| | | | |
|-----------|--|------------|---|
| acad | academy | f | female |
| ACFTU | All-China Federation of Trade Unions | FBIS/China | Foreign Broadcast Information Service, <u>Daily Report: China</u> |
| agr | agriculture | | |
| alt | alternate | F&E Cmsn | Financial & Economic Commission |
| AR | autonomous region | | |
| ARPC | autonomous region people's congress | Garr | garrison |
| ARRC | autonomous region revo- lutionary committee | gen/genl | general |
| Assn | association | GLD | General Logistics Department |
| Asst | assistant | GPD | General Political Department |
| Bldg | building | GSD | General Staff Department |
| ca | circa | Inst | institute |
| CAC | Central Advisory Commission | int'l | international |
| Cap Const | capital construction | | |
| CAS | Chinese Academy of Sciences | KMT | Kuomintang |
| CC | Central Committee | Ldg Mbr | leading member |
| CCP | Chinese Communist Party | LDI | latest date of |
| CCPCC | Chinese Communist Party Central Committee | | information |
| Cdr | commander | Mbr | member |
| Chmn | chairman | MD | military district |
| CITS | China International Travel Service | Mil | military |
| CMC | Central Military Commission | Min | minister, ministry |
| Cmdt | commandant | MMB | Ministry of Machine Building |
| Cmsn | commission | MPG | municipal people's government |
| Cmte | committee | MR | military region |
| COS | Chief of Staff | MRC | municipal revolutionary |
| CPPCC | Chinese People's Politici- cal Consultative Conference | mtg | committee meeting |
| CPVA | Chinese People's Volunteer Army | N | north, number in sample |
| | | Natl | national |
| CR | Cultural Revolution (1966-76) | NDSTC | National Defense |
| CYL | Communist Youth League | | Scientific & Techno- logical Commission |
| Dep | deputy | NDSTIC | National Defense Science, Technology & Industry |
| Dept | department | | Commission |
| Dir | director | NE | northeast |
| Disc Insp | discipline inspection | No | number |
| | | NPC | National People's Congress |
| eng | engineer | | |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Organ | organization |
| PB | Political Bureau |
| PC | political commissar |
| PLAAF | People's Liberation Army Air Force |
| PLA | People's Liberation Army |
| Pol Dep | political department |
| PPC | provincial people's congress |
| PPG | Provincial people's government |
| PRC | People's Republic of China, provincial revolutionary committee |
| PSB | Public Security Bureau |
| Pres | president |
| prov | provincial |
| RC | revolutionary committee |
| R&D | research and development |
| S&T | science and technology |
| S&T Cmsn | scientific and technolo- logical commission |
| Sec | secretary |
| SSFA | Sino-Soviet Friendship Association |
| Stdg Cmte | standing committee |
| SW | southwest |
| UFWD | United Front Work Department |
| US | United States |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| VC | vice chairman |
| VM | vice minister |



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INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX A

Annex A provides comparative data for the selected key military leaders. Table A1 identifies the leaders and their current positions. Tables A2-A11 are arranged according to the military organizations with which the selected leaders are affiliated, and include the following fields of information on each of the 60 individuals:

- date of birth,
- province of birth,
- participation in historical events,
- Cultural Revolution experiences,
- political orientation,
- Soviet Union connections,
- United States connections,
- current specializations,
- branch of service, and
- foreign-travel experiences.

All but two of the included leaders are primarily military men. Deng Xiaoping and Xiao Hongda are also included in the sample because, although they are not categorized as military leaders, they do hold key positions on the Party's Central Military Commission. Deng is chairman of both the Party and State Central Military Commissions.

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF MILITARY LEADERS

Table A1 provides the names and current positions held by the 60 military leaders serving in the following key national and regional-level organizations:

- CCP Military Commission,
- State Military Commission,
- Ministry of National Defense,
- PLA General Staff Department,
- PLA General Political Department,
- PLA General Logistics Department,
- National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission,
- PLA Air Force,
- PLA Navy,
- PLA 2d Artillery Corps, and
- Military Region Commanders.

Some of the leaders hold concurrent positions in more than one military organization.

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF 60 MILITARY LEADERS

Name:**Deng Xiaoping**

Position: Mbr, Stdg Cmte, 12th CCP Political Bureau (since Sep 82); Chmn, CCP Military Cmsn (since Jun 81); Chmn, Central Military Cmsn (since Jun 83); Chmn, CCP CAC (since Sep 82); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82)

Name:**Deng Zhaoxiang**

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA Navy (since Jan 82); VC, 6th CPPCC (since Jun 83)

Name:**Ding Henggao**

Position: Alt Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85); Minister in Charge, NDSTIC (since Jun 85)

Name:**Fu Jize**

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA Navy (since Jul 81)

Name:**Fu Quanyou**

Position: Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85); Cdr, Chengdu MR (since Jun 85)

Name:**Gan Weihan**

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GPD (since May 80)(LDI Apr 85); Sec, CCP Disc Insp Cmsn, PLA (since Dec 80); Mbr, CCP CAC (since Sep 82); Mbr, CCP Central Cmsn for Guiding Party Consolidation (since Oct 83)

Name:**Han Huaizhi**

Position: Dep Chief, PLA GSD (since May 85); Dir, PLA Military Training Department (since Jun 84); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83)

Name:**He Jinheng**

Position: Cdr, PLA 2d Artillery Corps (since Feb 83); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82)

Name:**He Qizong**

Position: Dep Chief, PLA GSD (since Apr 85)

Name:**Hong Xuezhi**

Position: Mbr, CCP CAC (since Sep 85); Dir, PLA GLD (since Feb 80); Mbr, CCP Military Cmsn (since Oct 82); Mbr, Central Military Cmsn (since Jun 83); Dir, 2d Office of Natl Defense (since Feb

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF 60 MILITARY LEADERS

79); VC, Central Patriotic Public Health Campaign Cmte, CCP-CC (since Oct 83); VC, Central Greening Cmte (since Feb 82)

Name:Jiang Xianchen

Position: Deputy Chief, PLA GSD (since Mar 85)

Name:Li Guang

Position: Dir, Weapons & Equipment Dept, PLA GSD (since Nov 82)

Name:Li Jing

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA Navy (since Jul 83)

Name:Li Jiulong

Position: Cdr, Jinan MR (since Jun 85); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85)

Name:Li Yongtai

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA Air Force (since Jan 83)

Name:Li Yuan

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GLD (since Feb 77)(LDI Dec 83); Mbr, CCP Disc Insp Cmsn (since Sep 85)

Name:Liu Huaqing

Position: Mbr, CCP CAC (since Sep 85); Cdr, PLA Navy (since Oct 82)

Name:Liu Jingsong

Position: Cdr, Shenyang MR (since Jun 85); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85)

Name:Liu Kai

Position: Asst to Chief, PLA GSD (since Apr 79)(LDI Feb 85); Acting Pres, PLA Armymen's Assn (since Nov 80); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83)

Name:Liu Lifeng

Position: PC, PLA 2d Artillery Corps (since Feb 83)

Name:Liu Mingpu

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GLD (since Jun 85)

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF 60 MILITARY LEADERS

Name:**Liu Youguang**

Position: PC, NDSTIC (since Feb 81); Mbr, Stdg Cmte, 6th NPC (since Jun 83); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83)

Name:**Qian Xuesen**

Position: VC, NDSTIC (since Aug 82); Mbr, Presidium, CAS (since May 81); Advisor, Society for the Study of the Future (since Mar 79); Dep Dir, Cmte for the Promotion of Intl Measurement (since Mar 79); Honorary Pres, China Mechanics Society (since May 82); Vice Chmn, China Science & Technology Assn (since Mar 80); Pres, China Society of Mechanics & Automation (since Jun 57); Dir, Mechanics Inst, CAS (since Mar 56); Mbr, Mathematics & Physics Dept, CAS (since 1957)

Name:**Qin Jiwei**

Position: Alt Mbr, 12th CCP Political Bureau (since Sep 82); Cdr, Beijing MR (since Jan 80); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Dir, Civil Air Defense Cmte, Beijing MR (since Jul 84); 1st Sec, Beijing MR CCP Cmte (since Jan 80)

Name:**Shen Rongjun**

Position: Vice Min, NDSTIC (since Apr 85)

Name:**Sheng Zhihua**

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA 2d Artillery Corps (since Feb 80, LDI Feb 80)

Name:**Tan Jingqiao**

Position: Asst to Chief, PLA GSD (since Feb 83)

Name:**Wang Hai**

Position: Cdr, PLA Air Force (since Jul 85); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85)

Name:**Wu Shaozu**

Position: VC, NDSTIC (since Jun 83); Dir, Foreign Affairs Bur, NDSTIC (since Jun 83); Vice Pres, China Nuclear Society (since Apr 84); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (Since Sep 85)

Name:**Xiang Shouzhi**

Position: Cdr, Nanjing MR (since Nov 82); Sec, Nanjing MR CCP Cmte (probably since Nov 82); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Hd, Ldg Group, Jiangsu People's Air Defense (since Oct 79); Chmn, People's Air Defense Cmte, Nanjing MR (since Mar 83)

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF 60 MILITARY LEADERS

Name: **Xiao Hongda**

Position: Dir, General Ofc, CCP Military Cmsn (since Jan 82); Mbr, Stdg Cmte, CCP Disc Insp Cmsn (since Sep 85)

Name: **Xiao Ke**

Position: Vice Min, Ministry of National Defense (since Mar 80); Cmdt, PLA Military Academy (since Mar 72); 1st PC, PLA Military Academy (since Sep 79); Mbr, Stdg Cmte, CCP CAC (since Sep 82); Mbr, CCP CAC (since Sep 82)

Name: **Xie Guang**

Position: Vice Min, NDSTIC (since Apr 85)

Name: **Xu Guangyi**

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GLD (since Sep 80) (LDI Jun 85); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83); VC, Capital Planning & Const Cmsn (since Nov 83)

Name: **Xu Huizi**

Position: Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85); Executive Dep Chief, PLA GSD (since Apr 85)

Name: **Xu Xin**

Position: Dep Chief, PLA GSD (since Dec 82) (LDI Jul 85); Alt Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Vice Pres, Beijing Inst for Intl Strategic Studies (since May 82)

Name: **Yan Jinsheng**

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GPD (since Oct 77) (LDI Feb 85); Vice Pres, Chinese Army Men's Assoc (since Oct 77)

Name: **Yang Dezhi**

Position: Mbr, 12th CCP Political Bureau (since Sep 82); Chief, PLA GSD (since Feb 80); Dep Sec Gen, CCP Military Cmsn (since Jan 83); Mbr, Stdg Cmte, CCP Military Cmsn (since Feb 80); Mbr, Central Military Cmsn (since Jun 83); 1st Sec, PLA GSD CCP Cmte (since May 80); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83); Honorary Pres, Chinese Mountaineering Assn (since NLT May 85)

Name: **Yang Guoyu**

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA Navy (since Dec 78) (LDI May 85); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83)

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF 60 MILITARY LEADERS

Name: Yang Shangkun

Position: Mbr, 12th CCP Political Bureau (since Sep 82); Exec VC, CCP Military Cmsn (since Sep 82); Sec Gen, CCP Military Cmsn (since Jul 81); VC, Central Military Cmsn (since Jun 83); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Adv, CCP Central Cmsn for Guiding Party Consolidation (since Oct 83)

Name: Yao Jun

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA Air Force (since Dec 84)

Name: Ye Zhengda

Position: VC, NDSTIC (since Jun 83)

Name: You Taizhong

Position: Cdr, Guangzhou MR (since Nov 82); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); 1st Sec, Guangzhou MR CCP Cmte (since Nov 82)

Name: Yu Qiuli

Position: Mbr, 12th CCP Political Bureau (since Sep 82); Sec, CCP Secretariat (since Feb 80); State Councillor (since May 82); Dep Sec Gen, CCP Military Cmsn (since Dec 82); Mbr, Central Military Cmsn (since Jun 83); Dir, PLA GPD (since Sep 82); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83); VC, CCP Central Cmsn for Guiding Party Consolidation (since Oct 83)

Name: Yu Zhenwu

Position: Dep Cdr, PLA Air Force (since Jul 85); Alt Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82)

Name: Zhang Aiping

Position: State Councillor (since Nov 82); Mbr, CCP Military Cmsn (since Oct 82); Dep Sec Gen, Central Military Cmsn (since Jun 83); Min, Ministry of National Defense (since Nov 82); Chmn, Atomic Bomb Testing Cmte & Gen Dir, Testing Ground (since Oct 84)

Name: Zhang Pin

Position: Dep Chief, Foreign Affairs Bur, NDSTIC (since Sep 83); Ldr, Chinese Working Group, China-US Military Technology Cooperation Negotiations (since NLT Feb 84)

Name: Zhang Xiang

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GLD (since Jan 83); Alt Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Mbr, Cent Patriotic Public Health Campaign Cmte, CCP-CC (since Oct 83)

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF 60 MILITARY LEADERS

Name: **Zhang Yunyu**

Position: VC, NDSTIC (since Sep 83)

Name: **Zhang Zhenhuan**

Position: VC, NDSTIC (since Jun 83); Chmn, S&T Cmte, NDSTIC (since Jun 83)

Name: **Zhang Zhongru**

Position: Dir, Intelligence Subdept, PLA GSD (since Feb 83); Dep, 6th NPC (PLA) (since Jun 83)

Name: **Zhao Nanqi**

Position: Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Dep Dir, PLA GLD (since Apr 85); Dep PC, PLA GLD (since Jun 85); Dep, 6th NPC (Jilin) (since Jun 83)

Name: **Zhao Xianshu**

Position: Mbr, CCP-CC (since Sep 85); Cdr, Lanzhou MR (since Jun 85)

Name: **Zhou Keyu**

Position: Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85); Dep Dir, PLA GPD (since Apr 85); Dir, All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification (since Mar 85); Dep, 6th NPC (since NLT Jul 85)

Name: **Zhou Wenyuan**

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GPD (since May 85)

Name: **Zhou Yiping**

Position: VC, NDSTIC (since Dec 82)

Name: **Zhu Guangya**

Position: VC, NDSTIC (since Aug 82); VC, S&T Cmte, NDSTIC (since NLT Dec 83); Mbr, Mathematics & Physics Dept, CAS (since date unk); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82); Vice Pres, Chinese Nuclear Society (since May 81)

Name: **Zhu Yunqian**

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GPD (since Oct 78) (LDI Jun 85); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 82)

Name: **Zong Shunliu**

Position: Dep Dir, PLA GLD (since May 85)

TABLE A1: IDENTIFICATION OF 60 MILITARY LEADERS

Name: Zou Jiahua

Position: Min, Ministry of Ordnance Industry (since Jun 85); VC, NDSTIC (since Aug 82-LDI Apr 84); Mbr, 12th CCP-CC (since Sep 85); VC, China Equipment Management Assn (since Dec 82)

TABLE A2: DATE OF BIRTH

Table A2 provides the dates of birth, where possible, for the key military leaders. In some instances, where information concerning the date of birth is not available, estimative dates are provided. These dates are based on career information and are presented as "pre-1920" for individuals believed to be at least 65 years old, "pre-1930" for leaders thought to be at least 55 but less than 65 years old, and "pre-1940" for those thought to be more than 45 but less than 55 years old. Another category is "post-1940" for leaders thought to be younger than 45.

The data shows that the average age for a key military leader is 63. This estimate is likely to be high, however, because the date of birth for one-third of the leaders is unknown. In the course of re-staffing, central policy has required promoting younger cadres. Therefore, many of the recent appointees for whom birthdates are unavailable probably are younger than the average age. Where data are available, the area of greatest expansion in recent appointments has been the 45-54 age group.

TABLE A2: DATE OF BIRTH

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> |
|--|---------------|----------------------|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | 1935 |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 |
| | Gan Weihan | 1909 |
| | Hong Xuezhi | 1913 |
| | Liu Huaqing | 1916 |
| | Xiao Ke | 1908 |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | 1909 |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | 1931 |
| | Xu Xin | 1920 |
| | Yu Zhenwu | 1931 |
| | Zhang Xiang | Unknown |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown |
| | Qin Jiwei | 1914 |
| | Wang Hai | 1925 |
| | Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 |
| | Xu Huizi | 1936 |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 |
| | You Taizhong | 1911 |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 |
| | Zhao Nanqi | 1935 |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown |
| | Zhou Keyu | 1935 |
| | Zhu Guangya | 1913 |
| | Zhu Yunqian | 1916 |
| | Zou Jiahua | 1927 |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | Li Yuan | Unknown |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 |
| | Hong Xuezhi | 1913 |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 |
| | Zhang Aiping | 1910 |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 |

TABLE A2: DATE OF BIRTH

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> |
|--|-------------|----------------------|
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | | |
| Yang Dezhi | 1910 | |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | |
| Yu Qiuli | 1914 | |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | | |
| Qin Jiwei | 1914 | |
| CCP Secretariat | | |
| Yu Qiuli | 1914 | |
| Central Military Commission | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | |
| Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | |
| Yang Dezhi | 1910 | |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | |
| Yu Qiuli | 1914 | |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | |
| Military Regions (Commander) | | |
| Fu Quanyou | Unknown | |
| Li Jilong | Unknown | |
| Liu Jingsong | Unknown | |
| Qin Jiwei | 1914 | |
| Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | |
| You Taizhong | 1911 | |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | |
| Ministry of National Defense | | |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | | |
| Ding Henggao | 1931 | |
| Liu Youguang | 1912 | |
| Qian Xuesen | 1912 | |
| Shen Rongjun | Unknown | |
| Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | |
| Xie Guang | 1934 | |
| Ye Zhengda | Unknown | |
| Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | |
| Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | |
| Zhu Guangya | 1913 | |
| Zou Jiahua | 1927 | |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | | |
| Liu Youguang | 1912 | |
| PLA General Logistics Department | | |
| Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | |
| Liu Mingpu | pre-1930 | |
| Xu Guangyi | 1916 | |
| Zhang Xiang | Unknown | |
| Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | |
| Zong Shunliu | 1943 | |

TABLE A2: DATE OF BIRTH

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> |
|---|-------------|----------------------|
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| Gan Weihan | 1909 | |
| Yan Jinsheng | 1914 | |
| Yu Qiuli | 1914 | |
| Zhou Keyu | 1935 | |
| Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | |
| Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| Han Huaizhi | pre-1930 | |
| He Qizong | 1943 | |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | |
| Li Guang | Unknown | |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | |
| Tan Jingqiao | pre-1920 | |
| Xu Huizi | 1936 | |
| Xu Xin | 1920 | |
| Yang Dezhi | 1910 | |
| Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | |
| PLA Schools | | |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | |
| Fu Jize | 1917 | |
| He Jinheng | Unknown | |
| Li Jing | 1930 | |
| Li Yongtai | 1940 | |
| Liu Huaqing | 1916 | |
| Liu Lifeng | Unknown | |
| Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | |
| Wang Hai | 1925 | |
| Yang Guoyu | pre-1930 | |
| Yao Jun | Unknown | |
| Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | |
| State Council | | |
| Yu Qiuli | 1914 | |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | | |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | |
| Zou Jiahua | 1927 | |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | | |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | |
| Yang Dezhi | 1910 | |

TABLE A3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH

Table A3 lists the provinces of birth for the military leaders. Where conflicting data exist, selection was made on the basis of analysis of the available data. Since this kind of data is not readily available, the provinces of birth for 39 of the leaders (65 percent) are unknown.

TABLE A3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>PROVINCE</u> |
|--|---------------|-----------------|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | Unknown |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Sichuan |
| | Gan Weihan | Jiangxi |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Anhui |
| | Liu Huaqing | Hubei |
| | Xiao Ke | Hunan |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | Jiangxi |
| | Yang Shangkun | Sichuan |
| | Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | Unknown |
| | Xu Xin | Unknown |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Liaoning |
| | Zhang Xiang | Unknown |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | Sichuan |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown |
| | Qin Jiwei | Hubei |
| | Wang Hai | Shandong |
| | Wu Shaozu | Unknown |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Unknown |
| | Xu Huizi | Unknown |
| | Yang Dezhi | Hunan |
| | Yang Shangkun | Sichuan |
| | You Taizhong | Sichuan |
| | Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi |
| | Zhao Nanqi | Jilin |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown |
| | Zhou Keyu | Unknown |
| | Zhu Guangya | Hubei |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Unknown |
| | Zou Jiahua | Shanghai |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | Li Yuan | Unknown |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Sichuan |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Anhui |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown |
| | Yang Dezhi | Hunan |
| | Yang Shangkun | Sichuan |
| | Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi |
| | Zhang Aiping | Sichuan |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | Sichuan |

TABLE A3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>PROVINCE</u> |
|--|-------------|-----------------|
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | | |
| Yang Dezhi | Hunan | |
| Yang Shangkun | Sichuan | |
| Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi | |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | | |
| Qin Jiwei | Hubei | |
| CCP Secretariat | | |
| Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi | |
| Central Military Commission | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | Sichuan | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Anhui | |
| Yang Dezhi | Hunan | |
| Yang Shangkun | Sichuan | |
| Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi | |
| Zhang Aiping | Sichuan | |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Guangdong | |
| Military Regions (Commander) | | |
| Fu Quanyou | Unknown | |
| Li Jiulong | Unknown | |
| Liu Jingsong | Unknown | |
| Qin Jiwei | Hubei | |
| Xiang Shouzhi | Unknown | |
| You Taizhong | Sichuan | |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | |
| Ministry of National Defense | | |
| Xiao Ke | Hunan | |
| Zhang Aiping | Sichuan | |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | | |
| Ding Henggao | Unknown | |
| Liu Youguang | Unknown | |
| Qian Xuesen | Jiangsu | |
| Shen Rongjun | Unknown | |
| Wu Shaozu | Unknown | |
| Xie Guang | Unknown | |
| Ye Zhengda | Unknown | |
| Zhang Pin | Unknown | |
| Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | |
| Zhu Guangya | Hubei | |
| Zou Jiahua | Shanghai | |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | | |
| Liu Youguang | Unknown | |
| PLA General Logistics Department | | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Anhui | |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | |
| Liu Mingpu | Unknown | |
| Xu Guangyi | Sichuan | |
| Zhang Xiang | Unknown | |
| Zhao Nanqi | Jilin | |
| Zong Shunliu | Unknown | |

TABLE A3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>PROVINCE</u> |
|--|--------------------|-----------------|
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| Gan Weihan | Jiangxi | |
| Yan Jinsheng | Unknown | |
| Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi | |
| Zhou Keyu | Unknown | |
| Zhou Wenyuan | Unknown | |
| Zhu Yunqian | Unknown | |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| Han Huaizhi | Unknown | |
| He Qizong | Sichuan (probably) | |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | |
| Li Guang | Unknown | |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | |
| Tan Jingqiao | Unknown | |
| Xu Huizi | Unknown | |
| Xu Xin | Unknown | |
| Yang Dezhi | Hunan | |
| Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | |
| PLA Schools | | |
| Xiao Ke | Hunan | |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Guangdong | |
| Fu Jize | Unknown | |
| He Jinheng | Unknown | |
| Li Jing | Shandong | |
| Li Yongtai | Unknown | |
| Liu Huaqing | Hubei | |
| Liu Lifeng | Unknown | |
| Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | |
| Wang Hai | Shandong | |
| Yang Guoyu | Unknown | |
| Yao Jun | Unknown | |
| Yu Zhenwu | Liaoning | |
| State Council | | |
| Yu Qiuli | Jiangxi | |
| Zhang Aiping | Sichuan | |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | | |
| Zhang Aiping | Sichuan | |
| Zou Jiahua | Shanghai | |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | | |
| Xiao Ke | Hunan | |
| Yang Dezhi | Hunan | |

TABLE A4: PARTICIPATION IN HISTORICAL EVENTS

Table A4 reports known participation by the military leaders in specified historical events during the course of the Chinese Communist Revolutionary Period, and key events following the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. Nine events, occurring between 1925 and 1979, were selected:

- May 30th Movement (1925),
- Northern Expedition (1926-27),
- Nanchang Uprising (1927),
- Autumn Harvest Uprisings (1927),
- Long March (1934-36),
- Marshall Mission (1945-47),
- Korean War (1950-53),
- Indian Border War (1962), and
- Vietnam Border War (1979).

As might be expected, for the most senior bodies such as the Party and State Central Military Commissions, where members are well-known, participation in historical events is extensive. In highly specialized bodies, such as the National Defense Science, Technology and Industry Commission, participation is unknown and probably less extensive.

TABLE A4: PARTICIPATION IN HISTORICAL EVENT

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>HISTORICAL EVENT</u> |
|--|---------------|--|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | No known participation |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Northern Expedition; Long March |
| | Gan Weihan | Long March (possibly); Korean War |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Long March; Korean War |
| | Liu Huaqing | Long March |
| | Xiao Ke | Northern Expedition; Nanchang Uprising; Long March |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | Long March (possibly); Korean War |
| | Yang Shangkun | Long March |
| | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | No known participation |
| | Xu Xin | Korean War |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Vietnam Border War |
| | Zhang Xiang | No known participation |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | Northern Expedition; Long March |
| | Fu Quanyou | No known participation |
| | He Jinheng | No known participation |
| | Li Jiulong | No known participation |
| | Liu Jingsong | No known participation |
| | Qin Jiwei | Autumn Harvest Uprising; Long March; Korean War |
| | Wang Hai | Korean War |
| | Wu Shaozu | No known participation |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Long March; Korean War |
| | Xu Huizi | No known participation |
| | Yang Dezhi | Long March; Korean War; Vietnam Border War |
| | Yang Shangkun | Long March |
| | You Taizhong | Long March; Korean War |
| | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| | Zhao Nanqi | No known participation |
| | Zhao Xianshu | No known participation |
| | Zhou Keyu | No known participation |
| | Zhu Guangya | No known participation |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Korean War |
| | Zou Jiahua | No known participation |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | Li Yuan | No known participation |
| | Xiao Hongda | No known participation |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Northern Expedition; Long March |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Long March; Korean War |
| | Xiao Hongda | No known participation |
| | Yang Dezhi | Long March; Korean War; Vietnam Border War |
| | Yang Shangkun | Long March |
| | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| | Zhang Aiping | Long March |

TABLE A4: PARTICIPATION IN HISTORICAL EVENT

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>HISTORICAL EVENT</u> |
|--|----------------|--|
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | Northern Expedition; Long March |
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | Yang Dezhi | Long March; Korean War; Vietnam Border War |
| | Yang Shangkun | Long March |
| | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | Qin Jiwei | Autumn Harvest Uprising; Long March; Korean War |
| CCP Secretariat | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| Central Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Northern Expedition; Long March |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Long March; Korean War |
| | Yang Dezhi | Long March; Korean War; Vietnam Border War |
| | Yang Shangkun | Long March |
| | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| | Zhang Aiping | Long March |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | Deng Zhaoxiang | No known participation |
| Military Regions (Commander) | Fu Quanyou | No known participation |
| | Li Jiulong | No known participation |
| | Liu Jingsong | No known participation |
| | Qin Jiwei | Autumn Harvest Uprising; Long March; Korean War |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Long March; Korean War |
| | You Taizhong | Long March; Korean War |
| | Zhao Xianshu | No known participation |
| Ministry of National Defense | Xiao Ke | Northern Expedition; Nanchang Uprising; Long March |
| | Zhang Aiping | Long March |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | Ding Henggao | No known participation |
| | Liu Youguang | No known participation |
| | Qian Xuesen | No known participation |
| | Shen Rongjun | No known participation |
| | Wu Shaozu | No known participation |
| | Xie Guang | No known participation |
| | Ye Zhengda | No known participation |
| | Zhang Pin | No known participation |
| | Zhang Yunyu | No known participation |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | No known participation |
| | Zhou Yiping | No known participation |
| | Zhu Guangya | No known participation |
| | Zou Jiahua | No known participation |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | Liu Youguang | No known participation |

TABLE A4: PARTICIPATION IN HISTORICAL EVENT

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>HISTORICAL EVENT</u> |
|---|----------------|--|
| PLA General Logistics Department | | |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Long March; Korean War |
| | Li Yuan | No known participation |
| | Liu Mingpu | No known participation |
| | Xu Guangyi | No known participation |
| | Zhang Xiang | No known participation |
| | Zhao Nanqi | No known participation |
| | Zong Shunliu | No known participation |
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| | Gan Weihan | Long March (possibly); Korean War |
| | Yan Jinsheng | Long March; Korean War |
| | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| | Zhou Keyu | No known participation |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | No known participation |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Korean War |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| | Han Huaizhi | No known participation |
| | He Qizong | Vietnam Border War |
| | Jiang Xianchen | No known participation |
| | Li Guang | No known participation |
| | Liu Kai | No known participation |
| | Tan Jingqiao | No known participation |
| | Xu Huizi | No known participation |
| | Xu Xin | Korean War |
| | Yang Dezhi | Long March; Korean War; Vietnam Border War |
| | Zhang Zhongru | No known participation |
| PLA Schools | | |
| | Xiao Ke | Northern Expedition; Nanchang Uprising; Long March |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| | Deng Zhaoxiang | No known participation |
| | Fu Jize | No known participation |
| | He Jinheng | No known participation |
| | Li Jing | No known participation |
| | Li Yongtai | No known participation |
| | Liu Huaqing | Long March |
| | Liu Lifeng | No known participation |
| | Sheng Zhihua | No known participation |
| | Wang Hai | Korean War |
| | Yang Guoyu | No known participation |
| | Yao Jun | No known participation |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Vietnam Border War |
| State Council | | |
| | Yu Qiuli | Long March |
| | Zhang Aiping | Long March |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | | |
| | Zhang Aiping | Long March |
| | Zou Jiahua | No known participation |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | | |
| | Xiao Ke | Northern Expedition; Nanchang Uprising; Long March |

TABLE A4: PARTICIPATION IN HISTORICAL EVENT

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>HISTORICAL EVENT</u> |
|---------------------|---|
| <u>NAME</u> | |
| Yang Dezhi | Long March; Korean War; Vietnam Border War |

TABLE A5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCES

Table A5 presents the experiences of the military leaders during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Three descriptive categories are used to characterize this experience:

- o Beneficiary: a military leader whose career was enhanced with promotions especially during the activist phase of the Cultural Revolution (1966-69). Promotion may have resulted either from the military leader's support of the Cultural Revolution or because the incumbent was purged, thus making room for advancement of politically reliable subordinates. These individuals have sometimes been associated with positions left-of-center within the CCP.
- o Survivor: an individual who retained positions held before the Cultural Revolution, but who experienced no concomitant promotion or demotion during that period.
- o Rehabilitee: an individual who was dismissed from official positions or who was in obscurity on a long-term basis during the Cultural Revolution. The dates of the individual's purge and subsequent rehabilitation are provided.

Fifty-seven percent (four leaders) of the Party Central Military Commission was purged and later rehabilitated; the remaining three members survived the Cultural Revolution. Data on this career factor still are unavailable for the recent appointees.

TABLE A5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>EXPERIENCES</u> |
|--|---------------|-----------------------|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | Unknown |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| | Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) |
| | Liu Huaqing | Rehabilitee (1968-72) |
| | Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) |
| | Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) |
| | Yu Qiuli | Survivor |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | Unknown |
| | Xu Xin | Survivor |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Survivor |
| | Zhang Xiang | Survivor |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown |
| | Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| | Wang Hai | Survivor |
| | Wu Shaozu | Rehabilitee (1969-79) |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Rehabilitee (1966-74) |
| | Xu Huizi | Unknown |
| | Yang Dezhi | Survivor |
| | Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) |
| | You Taizhong | Beneficiary |
| | Yu Qiuli | Survivor |
| | Zhao Nanqi | Unknown |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown |
| | Zhou Keyu | Unknown |
| | Zhu Guangya | Survivor |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Rehabilitee (1967-78) |
| | Zou Jiahua | Unknown |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | Li Yuan | Unknown |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown |
| | Yang Dezhi | Survivor |
| | Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) |
| | Yu Qiuli | Survivor |
| | Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |

TABLE A5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>EXPERIENCES</u> |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | | |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | |
| Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | |
| Yu Qiuli | Survivor | |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | | |
| Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | |
| CCP Secretariat | | |
| Yu Qiuli | Survivor | |
| Central Military Commission | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | |
| Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | |
| Yu Qiuli | Survivor | |
| Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | |
| Military Regions (Commander) | | |
| Fu Quanyou | Unknown | |
| Li Jiulong | Unknown | |
| Liu Jingsong | Unknown | |
| Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | |
| Xiang Shouzhi | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | |
| You Taizhong | Beneficiary | |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | |
| Ministry of National Defense | | |
| Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | |
| Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | | |
| Ding Henggao | Unknown | |
| Liu Youguang | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | |
| Qian Xuesen | Survivor | |
| Shen Rongjun | Unknown | |
| Wu Shaozu | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | |
| Xie Guang | Survivor | |
| Ye Zhengda | Unknown | |
| Zhang Pin | Unknown | |
| Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | |
| Zhu Guangya | Survivor | |
| Zou Jiahua | Unknown | |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | | |
| Liu Youguang | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | |
| PLA General Logistics Department | | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | |
| Liu Mingpu | Unknown | |
| Xu Guangyi | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | |
| Zhang Xiang | Survivor | |
| Zhao Nanqi | Unknown | |
| Zong Shunliu | Unknown | |

TABLE A5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>EXPERIENCES</u> |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | |
| Yan Jinsheng | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | |
| Yu Qiuli | Survivor | |
| Zhou Keyu | Unknown | |
| Zhou Wenyuan | Unknown | |
| Zhu Yunqian | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| Han Huaizhi | Unknown | |
| He Qizong | Unknown | |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | |
| Li Guang | Unknown | |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | |
| Tan Jingqiao | Unknown | |
| Xu Huizi | Unknown | |
| Xu Xin | Survivor | |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | |
| Zhang Zhongru | Survivor | |
| PLA Schools | | |
| Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | |
| Fu Jize | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | |
| He Jinheng | Unknown | |
| Li Jing | Unknown | |
| Li Yongtai | Unknown | |
| Liu Huaqing | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | |
| Liu Lifeng | Unknown | |
| Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | |
| Wang Hai | Survivor | |
| Yang Guoyu | Survivor | |
| Yao Jun | Unknown | |
| Yu Zhenwu | Survivor | |
| State Council | | |
| Yu Qiuli | Survivor | |
| Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | | |
| Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | |
| Zou Jiahua | Unknown | |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | | |
| Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | |

TABLE A6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION

Table A6 tentatively identifies the political orientation of the key military leaders or their expected response to the prevailing leadership, policies, or other stimuli comprising the current Chinese political scene. The following six categories were developed to characterize political orientation:

- Deng Group: An elite group of senior military leaders who have full responsibility for guiding and implementing the modernization program in accordance with Deng Xiaoping's direction.
- Deng Supporter Group: A larger group of military leaders who are highly responsive to reform policies, but who have less responsibility for their guidance and implementation. These military professionals are not regarded as so irrevocably committed to Deng's political leadership as those in the Deng Group. Many of the new military appointees in 1985 have relatively unknown careers. Because they have been placed in positions central to the implementation of Deng's reform programs, they have been grouped in the Deng Supporter Group.
- Moderates: This large category describes military leaders whose main priority is to meet and fulfill the requirements of their military profession, which now includes implementation of Deng's reform program. The concerns of their occupation override any loyalties to factionalized political philosophies or specific individuals. For them, the pace of the reform program is a concern because they are responsible for stability and discipline within their military areas.
- Conservatives: These are military professionals similar to those in the above-mentioned Moderates category, but for whom Deng's reform program poses concerns both in terms of the pace of implementation and the program's contents. These officers are more influenced by political/ideological matters, particularly Maoist traditions; thus, matters such as a rationalized approach to organizational matters, the opening to the West for equipment modernization, and upgraded training standards concern this group. No leaders in the sample fall in this category formerly represented by key individuals such as Ye Jianying and Xu Xiangqian. In Party circles, Political Bureau member Chen Yun and Party Secretariat member Deng Liqun are so oriented.
- Leftists: This category applies to leaders who are committed to the concepts of revolution and class struggle associated with Maoist traditions. They have also been described as "Whateverists" meaning that "whatever policies Mao had made should be resolutely defended, whatever instructions Mao had given should be steadily abided by." No leaders in this sample fall in this category defining the far right on the political spectrum. In Party circles, Hua Guofeng represents this political orientation.
- Unknown: The political orientation for two leaders in the sample was determined as "unknown," either because the data were insufficient or

the available data were too conflicting to make a judgment concerning a likely political orientation.

TABLE A6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|---------------|----------------------|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Deng Group |
| | Gan Weihan | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Deng Group |
| | Liu Huaqing | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiao Ke | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Shangkun | Deng Group |
| | Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Xin | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Unknown |
| | Zhang Xiang | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | Deng Group |
| | Fu Quanyou | Deng Supporter Group |
| | He Jinheng | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jiulong | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Jingsong | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qin Jiwei | Deng Group |
| | Wang Hai | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wu Shaozu | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Moderates |
| | Xu Huizi | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Dezhi | Deng Group |
| | Yang Shangkun | Deng Group |
| | You Taizhong | Moderates |
| | Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhao Nanqi | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Keyu | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhu Guangya | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zou Jiahua | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | Li Yuan | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiao Hongda | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Deng Group |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Deng Group |
| | Xiao Hongda | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Dezhi | Deng Group |
| | Yang Shangkun | Deng Group |
| | Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Aiping | Deng Group |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | Deng Group |

TABLE A6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | | |
| Yang Dezhi | Deng Group | |
| Yang Shangkun | Deng Group | |
| Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group | |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | | |
| Qin Jiwei | Deng Group | |
| CCP Secretariat | | |
| Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Central Military Commission | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | Deng Group | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Deng Group | |
| Yang Dezhi | Deng Group | |
| Yang Shangkun | Deng Group | |
| Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhang Aiping | Deng Group | |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Moderates | |
| Military Regions (Commander) | | |
| Fu Quanyou | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Jiulong | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Jingsong | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Qin Jiwei | Deng Group | |
| Xiang Shouzhi | Moderates | |
| You Taizhong | Moderates | |
| Zhao Xianshu | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Ministry of National Defense | | |
| Xiao Ke | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhang Aiping | Deng Group | |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | | |
| Ding Henggao | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Youguang | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Qian Xuesen | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Shen Rongjun | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Wu Shaozu | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Xie Guang | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Ye Zhengda | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhang Pin | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhang Yunyu | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | |
| Zhu Guangya | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zou Jiahua | Deng Supporter Group | |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | | |
| Liu Youguang | Deng Supporter Group | |
| PLA General Logistics Department | | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Deng Group | |
| Li Yuan | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Mingpu | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Xu Guangyi | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhang Xiang | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhao Nanqi | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zong Shunliu | Deng Supporter Group | |

TABLE A6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| Gan Weihan | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Yan Jinsheng | Moderates | |
| Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhou Keyu | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhou Wenyuan | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhu Yunqian | Deng Supporter Group | |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| Han Huaizhi | Deng Supporter Group | |
| He Qizong | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Jiang Xianchen | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Guang | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Kai | Moderates | |
| Tan Jingqiao | Moderates | |
| Xu Huizi | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Xu Xin | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Yang Dezhi | Deng Group | |
| Zhang Zhongru | Deng Supporter Group | |
| PLA Schools | Xiao Ke | Deng Supporter Group |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Moderates | |
| Fu Jize | Moderates | |
| He Jinheng | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Jing | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Yongtai | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Huaqing | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Lifeng | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Sheng Zhihua | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Wang Hai | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Yang Guoyu | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Yao Jun | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Yu Zhenwu | Unknown | |
| State Council | | |
| Yu Qiuli | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Zhang Aiping | Deng Group | |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | | |
| Zhang Aiping | Deng Group | |
| Zou Jiahua | Deng Supporter Group | |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | | |
| Xiao Ke | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Yang Dezhi | Deng Group | |

TABLE A7: SOVIET UNION CONNECTIONS

Table A7 presents known connections of the selected military leaders with the Soviet Union. The areas of contact examined are:

- travel and training in the Soviet Union from the 1920s until 1949,
- travel (noting the number of trips) to the Soviet Union since 1949,
- membership in the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association during the 1950s, and
- contact with Soviet advisers sent to China during the 1950s. No military leader in the sample is known to have had Soviet contacts since the withdrawal of Soviet advisers from China in August 1960.

Leaders serving in the most senior PLA bodies have had numerous Soviet contacts. Leaders of the PLA Service Arms and Departments have had little or no known contact with the Soviets. No leader serving in the General Political Department is known to have had Soviet contact.

TABLE A7: SOVIET CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|---------------|---|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | No known contacts |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (5 trips); Mbr, SSFA; contact with advisers; post-1949 talks |
| | Gan Weihan | No known contacts |
| | Hong Xuezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip) |
| | Liu Huaqing | post-1949 travel (1 trip); post-1949 training; contact with advisers |
| | Xiao Ke | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | No known contacts |
| | Yang Shangkun | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (3 trips); Mbr, SSFA; post-1949 talks |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | No known contacts |
| | Xu Xin | No known contacts |
| | Yu Zhenwu | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Xiang | No known contacts |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (5 trips); Mbr, SSFA; contact with advisers; post-1949 talks |
| | Fu Quanyou | No known contacts |
| | He Jinheng | No known contacts |
| | Li Jiulong | No known contacts |
| | Liu Jingsong | No known contacts |
| | Qin Jiwei | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Wang Hai | contact with advisers |
| | Wu Shaozu | No known contacts |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | No known contacts |
| | Xu Huizi | No known contacts |
| | Yang Dezhai | post-1949 travel (1 trip); contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Yang Shangkun | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (3 trips); Mbr, SSFA; post-1949 talks |
| | You Taizhong | contact with advisers |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |

TABLE A7: SOVIET CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|---------------|---|
| | Zhao Nanqi | No known contacts |
| | Zhao Xianshu | No known contacts |
| | Zhou Keyu | No known contacts |
| | Zhu Guangya | contact with advisers |
| | Zhu Yunqian | No known contacts |
| | Zou Jiahua | No known contacts |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | | |
| | Li Yuan | No known contacts |
| | Xiao Hongda | No known contacts |
| CCP Military Commission | | |
| | Deng Xiaoping | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (5 trips); Mbr, SSFA; contact with advisers; post-1949 talks |
| | Hong Xuezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip) |
| | Xiao Hongda | No known contacts |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip); contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Yang Shangkun | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (3 trips); Mbr, SSFA; post-1949 talks |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Aiping | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | | |
| | Deng Xiaoping | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (5 trips); Mbr, SSFA; contact with advisers; post-1949 talks |
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | | |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip); contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Yang Shangkun | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (3 trips); Mbr, SSFA; post-1949 talks |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | | |
| | Qin Jiwei | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| CCP Secretariat | | |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |
| Central Military Commission | | |
| | Deng Xiaoping | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (5 trips); Mbr, SSFA; contact with advisers; post-1949 talks |

TABLE A7: SOVIET CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|----------------|--|
| | Hong Xuezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip) |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip); contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Yang Shangkun | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training; post-1949 travel (3 trips); Mbr, SSFA; post-1949 talks |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Aiping | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | | |
| Military Regions (Commander) | Deng Zhaoxiang | No known contacts |
| | Fu Quanyou | No known contacts |
| | Li Jiulong | No known contacts |
| | Liu Jingsong | No known contacts |
| | Qin Jiwei | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | No known contacts |
| | You Taizhong | contact with advisers |
| | Zhao Xianshu | No known contacts |
| Ministry of National Defense | | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Xiao Ke | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Zhang Aiping | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | | |
| | Ding Henggao | No known contacts |
| | Liu Youguang | No known contacts |
| | Qian Xuesen | No known contacts |
| | Shen Rongjun | No known contacts |
| | Wu Shaozu | No known contacts |
| | Xie Guang | No known contacts |
| | Ye Zhengda | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Pin | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Yunyu | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | No known contacts |
| | Zhou Yiping | No known contacts |
| | Zhu Guangya | contact with advisers |
| | Zou Jiahua | No known contacts |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | | |
| | Liu Youguang | No known contacts |
| PLA General Logistics Department | | post-1949 travel (1 trip) |
| | Hong Xuezhi | No known contacts |
| | Li Yuan | No known contacts |
| | Liu Mingpu | No known contacts |
| | Xu Guangyi | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Xiang | No known contacts |
| | Zhao Nanqi | No known contacts |
| | Zong Shunliu | No known contacts |

TABLE A7: SOVIET CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|----------------|--|
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| | Gan Weihan | No known contacts |
| | Yan Jinsheng | No known contacts |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |
| | Zhou Keyu | No known contacts |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | No known contacts |
| | Zhu Yunqian | No known contacts |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| | Han Huaizhi | No known contacts |
| | He Qizong | No known contacts |
| | Jiang Xianchen | No known contacts |
| | Li Guang | No known contacts |
| | Liu Kai | No known contacts |
| | Tan Jingqiao | No known contacts |
| | Xu Huizi | No known contacts |
| | Xu Xin | No known contacts |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip); contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Zhang Zhongru | No known contacts |
| PLA Schools | Xiao Ke | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| | Deng Zhaoxiang | No known contacts |
| | Fu Jize | No known contacts |
| | He Jinheng | No known contacts |
| | Li Jing | No known contacts |
| | Li Yongtai | No known contacts |
| | Liu Huaqing | post-1949 travel (1 trip); post-1949 training; contact with advisers |
| | Liu Lifeng | No known contacts |
| | Sheng Zhihua | No known contacts |
| | Wang Hai | contact with advisers |
| | Yang Guoyu | No known contacts |
| | Yao Jun | No known contacts |
| | Yu Zhenwu | No known contacts |
| State Council | | |
| | Yu Qiuli | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Aiping | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | | |
| | Zhang Aiping | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Zou Jiahua | No known contacts |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | | |
| | Xiao Ke | contact with advisers (possibly) |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1949 travel (1 trip); contact with advisers (possibly) |

TABLE A8: UNITED STATES CONNECTIONS

Table A8 presents known connections of the selected military leaders with the United States. The following areas of contact were examined:

- contacts with US observers in the 1940s,
- participation in the Marshall Mission (1945-46),
- participation in the Korean War,
- pre-1949 training in the United States,
- pre-1949 travel to the United States,
- pre-1972 (Shanghai Communique) training in the United States,
- post-1972 travel to the United States, and
- substantive talks (post 1972) with key US officials (presidents, vice presidents, cabinet secretaries, and governors).

In addition to the most senior PLA leaders, who have had several instances of US contacts, six leaders or 46 percent of those serving on the National Defense Science, Technology and Industry Commission have had US contacts, largely since 1972.

TABLE A8: UNITED STATES CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|---------------|---|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | No known contacts |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | contact with observers; post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Gan Weihan | Korean War |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Korean War; post-1972 contacts |
| | Liu Huaqing | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Xiao Ke | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | Korean War |
| | Yang Shangkun | No known contacts |
| | Yu Qiuli | post-1972 talks |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | No known contacts |
| | Xu Xin | post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Yu Zhenwu | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Xiang | post-1972 travel |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | contact with observers; post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Fu Quanyou | No known contacts |
| | He Jinheng | No known contacts |
| | Li Jiulong | No known contacts |
| | Liu Jingsong | No known contacts |
| | Qin Jiwei | Korean War |
| | Wang Hai | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Wu Shaozu | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | No known contacts |
| | Xu Huizi | No known contacts |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Yang Shangkun | No known contacts |
| | You Taizhong | post-1972 contacts; Korean War |
| | Yu Qiuli | post-1972 talks |
| | Zhao Nanqi | No known contacts |
| | Zhao Xianshu | No known contacts |
| | Zhou Keyu | No known contacts |
| | Zhu Guangya | pre-1972 training |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Korean War |
| | Zou Jiahua | post-1972 travel |

TABLE A8: UNITED STATES CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|----------------|---|
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | | |
| | Li Yuan | No known contacts |
| | Xiao Hongda | No known contacts |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | contact with observers; post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Korean War; post-1972 contacts |
| | Xiao Hongda | No known contacts |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Yang Shangkun | No known contacts |
| | Yu Qiuli | post-1972 talks |
| | Zhang Aiping | post-1972 travel |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | contact with observers; post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | Yang Dezhi | post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Yang Shangkun | No known contacts |
| | Yu Qiuli | post-1972 talks |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | Qin Jiwei | Korean War |
| CCP Secretariat | Yu Qiuli | post-1972 talks |
| Central Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | contact with observers; post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Korean War; post-1972 contacts |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Yang Shangkun | No known contacts |
| | Yu Qiuli | post-1972 talks |
| | Zhang Aiping | post-1972 travel |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | Deng Zhaoxiang | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training |
| Military Regions (Commander) | Fu Quanyou | No known contacts |
| | Li Jiulong | No known contacts |
| | Liu Jingsong | No known contacts |
| | Qin Jiwei | Korean War |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | No known contacts |
| | You Taizhong | post-1972 contacts; Korean War |
| | Zhao Xianshu | No known contacts |

TABLE A8: UNITED STATES CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| Ministry of National Defense | Xiao Ke | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Zhang Aiping | post-1972 talks; post-1972 travel |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | Ding Henggao | No known contacts |
| | Liu Youguang | No known contacts |
| | Qian Xuesen | pre-1972 training |
| | Shen Rongjun | No known contacts |
| | Wu Shaozu | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Xie Guang | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Ye Zhengda | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Pin | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Zhang Yunyu | No known contacts |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | No known contacts |
| | Zhou Yiping | No known contacts |
| | Zhu Guangya | pre-1972 training |
| | Zou Jiahua | post-1972 travel |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | Liu Youguang | No known contacts |
| PLA General Logistics Department | Hong Xuezhi | Korean War; post-1972 contacts |
| | Li Yuan | No known contacts |
| | Liu Mingpu | No known contacts |
| | Xu Guangyi | post-1972 travel |
| | Zhang Xiang | post-1972 travel |
| | Zhao Nanqi | No known contacts |
| | Zong Shunliu | No known contacts |
| PLA General Political Department | Gan Weihan | Korean War |
| | Yan Jinsheng | Korean War |
| | Yu Qiuli | post-1972 talks |
| | Zhou Keyu | No known contacts |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | No known contacts |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Korean War |
| PLA General Staff Department | Han Huazhi | No known contacts |
| | He Qizong | No known contacts |
| | Jiang Xianchen | No known contacts |
| | Li Guang | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Liu Kai | No known contacts |
| | Tan Jingqiao | No known contacts |
| | Xu Huizi | No known contacts |
| | Xu Xin | post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Yang Dezhi | post-1972 talks; Korean War |

TABLE A8: UNITED STATES CONNECTIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CONNECTION</u> |
|--|---|--|
| PLA Schools | Zhang Zhongru Xiao Ke | No known contacts post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| PLA Services & Arms | Deng Zhaoxiang | pre-1949 travel; pre-1949 training |
| | Fu Jize He Jinheng Li Jing Li Yongtai Liu Huaqing | No known contacts No known contacts No known contacts No known contacts post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks |
| | Liu Lifeng Sheng Zhihua Wang Hai | No known contacts No known contacts post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks; Korean War |
| | Yang Guoyu Yao Jun Yu Zhenwu | No known contacts No known contacts No known contacts |
| State Council | Yu Qiuli Zhang Aiping | post-1972 talks post-1972 talks; post-1972 travel |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | Zhang Aiping | post-1972 talks; post-1972 travel post-1972 travel |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | Zou Jiahua Xiao Ke Yang Dezhi | post-1972 travel; post-1972 talks post-1972 talks; Korean War |

TABLE A9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATIONS

Table A9 presents the military leaders' current primary job specializations. All but two are military men. Deng Xiaoping and Xiao Hongda are also included in the sample because, although they are not categorized primarily as military leaders, they do hold key military positions on the Party Central Military Commission. Also, Deng is concurrently Chairman of the State Central Military Commission.

The area of substantive expertise is also provided after the broad categorical term, military. For example, the categorical term, current specialization "Military: S & T" means that a particular military leader has scientific and technical responsibilities.

Military membership on the CCP Central Committee represents all key aspects of PLA work, including direct command responsibilities (42 percent of the military members or ten leaders), policy development and management (42 percent or ten leaders), and scientific and technical responsibilities (17 percent or four leaders).

TABLE A9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATION

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>SPECIALIZATION</u> |
|--|---------------|------------------------------------|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | Military:management/staff |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Party:general policy/management |
| | Gan Weihan | Military:management/staff |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Military:management/modernization |
| | Liu Huaqing | Military:operations/commander |
| | Xiao Ke | Military:general policy/management |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | Military:management/staff |
| | Yang Shangkun | Military:general policy/management |
| | Yu Qiuli | Military:management/staff |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | Military:S&T |
| | Xu Xin | Military:general policy/management |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Military:operations/commander |
| | Zhang Xiang | Military:management/modernization |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | Party:general policy/management |
| | Fu Quanyou | Military:operations/commander |
| | He Jinheng | Military:operations/commander |
| | Li Jiulong | Military:operations/commander |
| | Liu Jingsong | Military:operations/commander |
| | Qin Jiwei | Military:operations/commander |
| | Wang Hai | Military:operations/commander |
| | Wu Shaozu | Military:S&T |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Military:operations/commander |
| | Xu Huizi | Military:general policy/management |
| | Yang Dezhi | Military:general policy/management |
| | Yang Shangkun | Military:general policy/management |
| | You Taizhong | Military:operations/commander |
| | Yu Qiuli | Military:management/staff |
| | Zhao Nanqi | Military:management/staff |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Military:operations/commander |
| | Zhou Keyu | Military:management/staff |
| | Zhu Guangya | Military:S&T |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Military:management/staff |
| | Zou Jiahua | Military:S&T |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | Li Yuan | Military:management/staff |
| | Xiao Hongda | Party:organizational work |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Party:general policy/management |
| | Hong Xuezhi | Military:management/modernization |
| | Xiao Hongda | Party:organizational work |
| | Yang Dezhi | Military:general policy/management |
| | Yang Shangkun | Military:general policy/management |
| | Yu Qiuli | Military:management/staff |
| | Zhang Aiping | Military:management/modernization |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | Party:general policy/management |

TABLE A9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATION

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>SPECIALIZATION</u> |
|--|---|-----------------------|
| CCP Political Bureau (b. | Member) | |
| Yang Dezhi | Military:general policy/management | |
| Yang Shangkun | Military:general policy/management | |
| Yu Qiuli | Military:management/staff | |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. | Alternate Member) | |
| Qin Jiwei | Military:operations/commander | |
| CCP Secretariat | | |
| Yu Qiuli | Military:management/staff | |
| Central Military Commission | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | Party:general policy/management | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Military:management/modernization | |
| Yang Dezhi | Military:general policy/management | |
| Yang Shangkun | Military:general policy/management | |
| Yu Qiuli | Military:management/staff | |
| Zhang Aiping | Military:management/modernization | |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Military:operations/commander | |
| Military Regions (Commander) | | |
| Fu Quanyou | Military:operations/commander | |
| Li Jilong | Military:operations/commander | |
| Liu Jingsong | Military:operations/commander | |
| Qin Jiwei | Military:operations/commander | |
| Xiang Shouzhi | Military:operations/commander | |
| You Taizhong | Military:operations/commander | |
| Zhao Xianshu | Military:operations/commander | |
| Ministry of National Defense | | |
| Xiao Ke | Military:general policy/management | |
| Zhang Aiping | Military:management/modernization | |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | | |
| Ding Henggao | Military:S&T | |
| Liu Youguang | Military:operations/political commissar | |
| Qian Xuesen | Military:S&T | |
| Shen Rongjun | Military:S&T | |
| Wu Shaozu | Military:S&T | |
| Xie Guang | Military:S&T | |
| Ye Zhengda | Military:S&T | |
| Zhang Pin | Military:S&T | |
| Zhang Yunyu | Military:S&T | |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Military:S&T | |
| Zhou Yiping | Military:S&T | |
| Zhu Guangya | Military:S&T | |
| Zou Jiahua | Military:S&T | |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | | |
| Liu Youguang | Military:operations/political commissar | |
| PLA General Logistics Department | | |
| Hong Xuezhi | Military:management/modernization | |
| Li Yuan | Military:management/staff | |
| Liu Mingpu | Military:management/staff | |
| Xu Guangyi | Military:management/modernization | |
| Zhang Xiang | Military:management/modernization | |
| Zhao Nanqi | Military:management/staff | |

TABLE A9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATION

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>SPECIALIZATION</u> |
|---|-----------------|--|
| Zong Shunliu | | Military:management/staff |
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| Gan Weihan | | Military:management/staff |
| Yan Jinsheng | | Military:management/staff |
| Yu Qiuli | | Military:management/staff |
| Zhou Keyu | | Military:management/staff |
| Zhou Wenyuan | | Military:management/staff |
| Zhu Yunqian | | Military:management/staff |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| Han Huaizhi | | Military:general policy/management |
| He Qizong | | Military:management/modernization |
| Jiang Xianchen | | Military:management/modernization |
| Li Guang | | Military:management/modernization |
| Liu Kai | | Military:general policy/management |
| Tan Jingqiao | | Military:general policy/management |
| Xu Huizi | | Military:general policy/management |
| Xu Xin | | Military:general policy/management |
| Yang Dezhi | | Military:general policy/management |
| Zhang Zhongru | | Military:management/staff |
| PLA Schools | | |
| Xiao Ke | | Military:general policy/management |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | | Military:operations/commander |
| Fu Jize | | Military:operations/commander |
| He Jinheng | | Military:operations/commander |
| Li Jing | | Military:operations/commander |
| Li Yongtai | | Military:operations/commander |
| Liu Huaqing | | Military:operations/commander |
| Liu Lifeng | | Military:operations/political Commissar |
| Sheng Zhihua | | Military:operations/commander |
| Wang Hai | | Military:operations/commander |
| Yang Guoyu | | Military:operations/commander |
| Yao Jun | | Military:operations/commander |
| Yu Zhenwu | | Military:operations/commander |
| State Council | | |
| Yu Qiuli | | Military:management/staff |
| Zhang Aiping | | Military:management/modernization |
| State Council Ministries | (Minister) | |
| Zhang Aiping | | Military:management/modernization |
| Zou Jiahua | | Military:S&T |
| State Council Ministries | (Vice Minister) | |
| Xiao Ke | | Military:general policy/management |
| Yang Dezhi | | Military:general policy/management |

TABLE A10: BRANCH OF SERVICE

Table A10 describes the military service of each leader by identifying the specific branch of the PLA. Further, additional descriptive labels are provided concerning the leader's area of substantive responsibility within that branch of service. The entries for Deng Xiaoping and Xiao Hongda do not include this data because they are not primarily military leaders. Also omitted are Shen Rongjun, Ye Zhengda, and Zhang Yunyu, whose scientific and technical expertise involves them in service to the PLA.

Members of the Army staff most of the key organizations. Members of the Navy serve only on the Chinese People's Consultative Conference and CCP Central Advisory Commission. The Air Force and 2d Artillery have four representatives on the CCP Central Committee but the Navy has none.

TABLE A10: BRANCH OF SERVICE

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>BRANCH</u> |
|--|--|---|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | Army:political affairs |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping Gan Weihan Hong Xuezhi Liu Huaqing Xiao Ke | Army:political affairs Army:logistics Navy:command & control Army:training |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan Yang Shangkun Yu Qiuli | Army:political affairs Army:policy/planning Army:political affairs |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao Xu Xin Yu Zhenwu Zhang Xiang | Army:research & development Army:modernization/staff Air Force:command & control Army:logistics |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping Fu Quanyou He Jinheng Li Jiulong Liu Jingsong Qin Jiwei Wang Hai Wu Shaozu Xiang Shouzhi Xu Huizi Yang Dezhi Yang Shangkun You Taizhong Yu Qiuli Zhao Nanqi Zhao Xianshu Zhou Keyu Zhu Guangya Zhu Yunqian Zou Jiahua | Army:command & control 2d Artillery:command & control Army:command & control Army:command & control Army:command & control Air Force:command & control Army:research & development Army:command & control Army:modernization/staff Army:command & control Army:policy/planning Army:command & control Army:political affairs Army:logistics Army:command & control Army:political affairs Army:research & development Army:political affairs Air Force:political affairs Army:research & development |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | Li Yuan Xiao Hongda | Army:logistics |
| CCP Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping Hong Xuezhi Xiao Hongda Yang Dezhi Yang Shangkun Yu Qiuli Zhang Aiping | Army:logistics Army:command & control Army:policy/planning Army:political affairs Army:policy/planning |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | |

TABLE A10: BRANCH OF SERVICE

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>BRANCH</u> |
|--|---|--|
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | Yang Dezhi Yang Shangkun Yu Qiuli | Army:command & control Army:policy/planning Army:political affairs |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | Qin Jiwei | Army:command & control |
| CCP Secretariat | Yu Qiuli | Army:political affairs |
| Central Military Commission | Deng Xiaoping Hong Xuezhi Yang Dezhi Yang Shangkun Yu Qiuli Zhang Aiping | Army:logistics Army:command & control Army:policy/planning Army:political affairs Army:policy/planning |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | Deng Zhaoxiang | Navy:command & control |
| Military Regions (Commander) | Fu Quanyou Li Jiulong Liu Jingsong Qin Jiwei Xiang Shouzhi You Taizhong Zhao Xianshu | Army:command & control Army:command & control Army:command & control Army:command & control Army:command & control Army:command & control Army:command & control |
| Ministry of National Defense | Xiao Ke Zhang Aiping | Army:training Army:policy/planning |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | Ding Henggao Liu Youguang Qian Xuesen Shen Rongjun Wu Shaozu Xie Guang Ye Zhengda Zhang Pin Zhang Yunyu Zhang Zhenhuan Zhou Yiping Zhu Guangya Zou Jiahua | Army:research & development Army:political affairs Army:research & development Army:research & development Army:research & development Army:research & development PLA:research & development Army:research & development PLA:research & development Army:research & development Army:research & development Army:research & development Army:research & development |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | Liu Youguang | Army:political affairs |
| PLA General Logistics Department | Hong Xuezhi Li Yuan Liu Mingpu Xu Guangyi Zhang Xiang Zhao Nanqi Zong Shunliu | Army:logistics Army:logistics Army:logistics Army:logistics Army:logistics Army:logistics Army:logistics |

TABLE A10: BRANCH OF SERVICE

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>BRANCH</u> |
|--|----------------|--------------------------------|
| PLA General Political Department | | |
| | Gan Weihan | Army:political affairs |
| | Yan Jinsheng | Army:political affairs |
| | Yu Qiuli | Army:political affairs |
| | Zhou Keyu | Army:political affairs |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | Army:political affairs |
| | Zhu Yungqian | Air Force:political affairs |
| PLA General Staff Department | | |
| | Han Huaizhi | Army:modernization/staff |
| | He Qizong | Army:plans & operations |
| | Jiang Xianchen | Unknown |
| | Li Guang | Unknown |
| | Liu Kai | Army:modernization/staff |
| | Tan Jingqiao | Army:modernization/staff |
| | Xu Huizi | Army:modernization/staff |
| | Xu Xin | Army:modernization/staff |
| | Yang Dezhi | Army:command & control |
| | Zhang Zhonggru | Army:intelligence |
| PLA Schools | | |
| | Xiao Ke | Army:training |
| PLA Services & Arms | | |
| | Deng Zhaoxiang | Navy:command & control |
| | Fu Jize | Navy:command & control |
| | He Jinheng | 2d Artillery:command & control |
| | Li Jing | Navy:command & control |
| | Li Yongtai | Air Force:command & control |
| | Liu Huaqing | Navy:command & control |
| | Liu Lifeng | 2d Artillery:political affairs |
| | Sheng Zhihua | 2d Artillery:command & control |
| | Wang Hai | Air Force:command & control |
| | Yang Guoyu | Navy:command & control |
| | Yao Jun | Air Force:command & control |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Air Force:command & control |
| State Council | | |
| | Yu Qiuli | Army:political affairs |
| | Zhang Aiping | Army:policy/planning |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | | |
| | Zhang Aiping | Army:policy/planning |
| | Zou Jiahua | Army:research & development |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | | |
| | Xiao Ke | Army:training |
| | Yang Dezhi | Army:command & control |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

Table A11 provides a record of foreign travel by selected military leaders, mainly travel after 1977. Where information is available, the substantive nature of the travel is indicated under such terms as military delegation, government talks, and goodwill visit. Twenty-five of the leaders (42 percent) are known to have traveled abroad during this period.

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|--|---------------|---|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | No known travel |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | Burma (Jan 78) gov't talks; Nepal (Feb 78) gov't talks; DPRK (Sep 78) gov't talks; Japan (Oct 78) gov't talks; Thailand (Nov 78) gov't talks; Malaysia (Nov 78) gov't talks; Singapore (Nov 78) gov't talks; Burma (Nov 78) gov't talks; Algeria (Dec 78) funeral rep; United States (Jan-Feb 79) gov't talks; Japan (Feb 79) gov't talks; DPRK (Apr 82) gov't talks. |
| | Gan Weihan | Burma (Jan 61) military delegation. |
| | Hong Xuezhi | No known travel |
| | Liu Huaqing | Yugoslavia (Dec 79) military delegation; United States (May 80) Geng Biao delegation; Egypt, Sudan (May 81) military delegation; Bangladesh (Mar 82) military delegation; Bangladesh, Pakistan (Nov 83) military delegation; UK, Yugoslavia (Nov 84) military delegation United States, France (Nov 85) Navy delegation |
| | Xiao Ke | Algeria (Oct 84) PLA delegation; United States (Oct 80) PLA Military Academy delegation. |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | Burma (Jan 61) military delegation. |
| | Yang Shangkun | DPRK (May 84) Hu Yaobang delegation |
| | Yu Qiuli | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | No known travel |
| | Xu Xin | Guinea (Dec 81) military delegation; Africa (Aug 82) military delegation; |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| | Yu Zhenwu Zhang Xiang | Sweden, Norway, Italy (Oct 84) military delegation United States (Oct-Nov 85) internat'l strategic issues conference No known travel Thailand (Dec 80) PLA medical delegation; United States (Oct 81) PLA medical delegation. 81) |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | Burma (Jan 78) gov't talks; Nepal (Feb 78) gov't talks; DPRK (Sep 78) gov't talks; Japan (Oct 78) gov't talks; Thailand (Nov 78) gov't talks; Malaysia (Nov 78) gov't talks; Singapore (Nov 78) gov't talks; Burma (Nov 78) gov't talks; Algeria (Dec 78) funeral rep; United States (Jan-Feb 79) gov't talks; Japan (Feb 79) gov't talks; DPRK (Apr 82) gov't talks. |
| | Fu Quanyou He Jinheng Li Jiulong Liu Jingsong Qin Jiwei | No known travel No known travel No known travel No known travel Portugal (Oct 81) goodwill visit; Romania (Sep 81) military delegation; Romania and Yugoslavia (May 83) Hu Yaobang delegation. |
| | Wang Hai | DPRK (Oct 75) military delegation; United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. |
| | Wu Shaozu Xiang Shouzhi | United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. DPRK (Sep 79) military delegation; Romania (Sep 84) military delegation. |
| | Xu Huizi Yang Dezhi | No known travel DPRK (Aug 78) military talks; France (Jul 81) |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|---|
| | Yang Shangkun | military talks; England (Jul 81) goodwill visit; Pakistan (Nov 81) |
| | You Taizhong | military talks; Belgium (Jun 81) goodwill visit; Thailand (Jan-Feb 83) |
| | Yu Qiuli | military talks; DPRK (Apr 84) goodwill visit; Romania & Yugoslavia (Jul 84) military talks Italy (Oct 85) goodwill visit |
| | Zhao Nanqi | DPRK (May 84) Hu Yaobang delegation |
| | Zhao Xianshu | DPRK (Jun 85) military delegation. |
| | Zhou Keyu | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| | Zhu Guangya | No known travel |
| | Zhu Yunqian | No known travel |
| | Zou Jiahua | No known travel |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | | No known travel |
| | Li Yuan | No known travel |
| | Xiao Hongda | No known travel |
| CCP Military Commission | | Burma (Jan 78) gov't talks; Nepal (Feb 78) gov't talks; DPRK (Sep 78) gov't talks; Japan (Oct 78) gov't talks; Thailand (Nov 78) gov't talks; Malaysia (Nov 78) gov't talks; Singapore (Nov 78) gov't talks; Burma (Nov 78) gov't talks; Algeria (Dec 78) funeral rep; United States (Jan-Feb 79) gov't talks; Japan (Feb 79) gov't talks; DPRK (Apr 82) gov't talks. |
| | Deng Xiaoping | No known travel |
| | Hong Xuezhi | No known travel |
| | Xiao Hongda | DPRK (Aug 78) military talks; France (Jul 81) military talks; England (Jul 81) goodwill visit; |
| | Yang Dezhi | |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|--|---------------|--|
| | Yang Shangkun | Pakistan (Nov 81) military talks; Belgium (Jun 81) goodwill visit; Thailand (Jan-Feb 83) military talks; DPRK (Apr 84) goodwill visit; Romania & Yugoslavia (Jul 84) military talks Italy (Oct 85) goodwill visit |
| | Yu Qiuli | DPRK (May 84) Hu Yaobang delegation Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| | Zhang Aiping | Sweden (Jun 78) goodwill visit; Italy (Jun 78) goodwill visit; France (Jun 84) military talks; United States (Jun 84) military talks; Canada (Jun-Jul 84) military talks; Japan (Jul 84) military talks; Pakistan, Romania, Portugal (Jun 85) military talks |
| CCP Political Bureau (a. Standing Committee) | Deng Xiaoping | Burma (Jan 78) gov't talks; Nepal (Feb 78) gov't talks; DPRK (Sep 78) gov't talks; Japan (Oct 78) gov't talks; Thailand (Nov 78) gov't talks; Malaysia (Nov 78) gov't talks; Singapore (Nov 78) gov't talks; Burma (Nov 78) gov't talks; Algeria (Dec 78) funeral rep; United States (Jan-Feb 79) gov't talks; Japan (Feb 79) gov't talks; DPRK (Apr 82) gov't talks. |
| CCP Political Bureau (b. Member) | Yang Dezhi | DPRK (Aug 78) military talks; France (Jul 81) military talks; England (Jul 81) goodwill visit; Pakistan (Nov 81) military talks; Belgium (Jun 81) goodwill visit; Thailand (Jan-Feb 83) military talks; DPRK (Apr |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|--|---------------|--|
| | | 84) goodwill visit; Romania & Yugoslavia (Jul 84) military talks Italy (Oct 85) goodwill visit |
| | Yang Shangkun | DPRK (May 84) Hu Yaobang delegation |
| | Yu Qiuli | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| CCP Political Bureau (c. Alternate Member) | | |
| | Qin Jiwei | Portugal (Oct 81) goodwill visit; Romania (Sep 81) military delegation; Romania and Yugoslavia (May 83) Hu Yaobang delegation. |
| CCP Secretariat | | |
| | Yu Qiuli | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| Central Military Commission | | |
| | Deng Xiaoping | Burma (Jan 78) gov't talks; Nepal (Feb 78) gov't talks; DPRK (Sep 78) gov't talks; Japan (Oct 78) gov't talks; Thailand (Nov 78) gov't talks; Malaysia (Nov 78) gov't talks; Singapore (Nov 78) gov't talks; Burma (Nov 78) gov't talks; Algeria (Dec 78) funeral rep; United States (Jan-Feb 79) gov't talks; Japan (Feb 79) gov't talks; DPRK (Apr 82) gov't talks. |
| | Hong Xuezhi | No known travel |
| | Yang Dezhi | DPRK (Aug 78) military talks; France (Jul 81) military talks; England (Jul 81) goodwill visit; Pakistan (Nov 81) military talks; Belgium (Jun 81) goodwill visit; Thailand (Jan-Feb 83) military talks; DPRK (Apr 84) goodwill visit; Romania & Yugoslavia (Jul 84) military talks Italy (Oct 85) goodwill visit |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|--|----------------|--|
| | Yang Shangkun | DPRK (May 84) Hu Yaobang delegation |
| | Yu Qiuli | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| | Zhang Aiping | Sweden (Jun 78) goodwill visit; Italy (Jun 78) goodwill visit; France (Jun 84) military talks; United States (Jun 84) military talks; Canada (Jun-Jul 84) military talks; Japan (Jul 84) military talks; Pakistan, Romania, Portugal (Jun 85) military talks |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | Deng Zhaoxiang | No known travel |
| Military Regions (Commander) | Fu Quanyou | No known travel |
| | Li Jiulong | No known travel |
| | Liu Jingsong | No known travel |
| | Qin Jiwei | Portugal (Oct 81) goodwill visit; Romania (Sep 81) military delegation; Romania and Yugoslavia (May 83) Hu Yaobang delegation. |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | DPRK (Sep 79) military delegation; Romania (Sep 84) military delegation. |
| | You Taizhong | DPRK (Jun 85) military delegation. |
| | Zhao Xianshu | No known travel |
| Ministry of National Defense | Xiao Ke | Algeria (Oct 84) PLA delegation; United States (Oct 80) PLA Military Academy delegation. |
| | Zhang Aiping | Sweden (Jun 78) goodwill visit; Italy (Jun 78) goodwill visit; France (Jun 84) military talks; United States (Jun 84) military talks; Canada (Jun-Jul 84) military talks; Japan (Jul 84) military talks; Pakistan, Romania, Portugal (Jun 85) military talks |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | Ding Henggao | No known travel |
| | Liu Youguang | No known travel |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|---|----------------|---|
| | Qian Xuesen | No known travel |
| | Shen Rongjun | No known travel |
| | Wu Shaozu | United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. |
| | Xie Guang | Japan (Jul 79) astronautics delegation; United States (May 80) Liu Huaqing delegation. |
| | Ye Zhengda | No known travel |
| | Zhang Pin | United States (Feb-Mar 84) military delegation. |
| | Zhang Yunyu | No known travel |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | No known travel |
| | Zhou Yiping | No known travel |
| | Zhu Guangya | No known travel |
| | Zou Jiahua | Sweden, Italy (Feb 79) Zhang Aiping military delegation. |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | Liu Youguang | No known travel |
| PLA General Logistics Department | Hong Xuezhi | No known travel |
| | Li Yuan | No known travel |
| | Liu Mingpu | No known travel |
| | Xu Guangyi | India (Jan 58) Ye Jianying delegation; United States (Sep 80) military delegation. Thailand (Dec 80) PLA medical delegation; United States (Oct 81) PLA medical delegation. 81) |
| | Zhang Xiang | No known travel |
| | Zhao Nanqi | No known travel |
| | Zong Shunliu | No known travel |
| PLA General Political Department | Gan Weihan | Burma (Jan 61) military delegation. |
| | Yan Jinsheng | No known travel |
| | Yu Qiuli | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| | Zhou Keyu | No known travel |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | No known travel |
| | Zhu Yunqian | No known travel |
| PLA General Staff Department | Han Huazhi | Pakistan (Dec 80) military delegation; Rwanda (Jun 82) military delegation; Ecuador and Columbia (Aug-Sep 1985) military delegation; Venezuela and Mexico (Sep |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|---|
| | He Qizong | 85) goodwill military visits. |
| | Jiang Xianchen | No known travel |
| | Li Guang | No known travel |
| | Liu Kai | United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. Somalia (Apr 81) military delegation; Togo and Benin (Mar 82) military delegation. |
| | Tan Jingqiao | No known travel |
| | Xu Huizi | No known travel |
| | Xu Xin | Guinea (Dec 81) military delegation; Africa (Aug 82) military delegation; Sweden, Norway, Italy (Oct 84) military delegation |
| | Yang Dezhi | United States (Oct-Nov 85) internat'l strategic issues conference DPRK (Aug 78) military talks; France (Jul 81) military talks; England (Jul 81) goodwill visit; Pakistan (Nov 81) military talks; Belgium (Jun 81) goodwill visit; Thailand (Jan-Feb 83) military talks; DPRK (Apr 84) goodwill visit; Romania & Yugoslavia (Jul 84) military talks Italy (Oct 85) goodwill visit No known travel |
| Zhang Zhongru | | |
| PLA Schools | Xiao Ke | Algeria (Oct 84) PLA delegation; United States (Oct 80) PLA Military Academy delegation. |
| PLA Services & Arms | Deng Zhaoxiang | No known travel |
| | Fu Jize | Burma (Dec 60) Zhang Aiping delegation; Romania (Jul 84) Yang Dezhi delegation; Thailand (Feb 85) military delegation. |
| | He Jinheng | No known travel |
| | Li Jing | No known travel |
| | Li Yongtai | Romania (Jul 84) Yang Dezhi delegation. |

TABLE A11: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|--|
| | Liu Huaqing | Yugoslavia (Dec 79) military delegation; United States (May 80) Geng Biao delegation; Egypt, Sudan (May 81) military delegation; Bangladesh (Mar 82) military delegation; Bangladesh, Pakistan (Nov 83) military delegation; UK, Yugoslavia (Nov 84) military delegation United States, France (Nov 85) Navy delegation |
| | Liu Lifeng | No known travel |
| | Sheng Zhihua | No known travel |
| | Wang Hai | DPRK (Oct 75) military delegation; United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. |
| | Yang Guoyu | Tunisia (1977) military delegation. |
| | Yao Jun | No known travel |
| | Yu Zhenwu | No known travel |
| State Council | Yu Qiuli | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. |
| | Zhang Aiping | Sweden (Jun 78) goodwill visit; Italy (Jun 78) goodwill visit; France (Jun 84) military talks; United States (Jun 84) military talks; Canada (Jun-Jul 84) military talks; Japan (Jul 84) military talks; Pakistan, Romania, Portugal (Jun 85) military talks |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | Zhang Aiping | Sweden (Jun 78) goodwill visit; Italy (Jun 78) goodwill visit; France (Jun 84) military talks; United States (Jun 84) military talks; Canada (Jun-Jul 84) military talks; Japan (Jul 84) military talks; Pakistan, Romania, Portugal (Jun 85) military talks |

TABLE All: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> |
|--|-------------|--|
| | Zou Jiahua | Sweden, Italy (Feb 79) Zhang Aiping military delegation. |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | Xiao Ke | Algeria (Oct 84) PLA delegation; United States (Oct 80) PLA Military Academy delegation. |
| | Yang Dezhi | DPRK (Aug 78) military talks; France (Jul 81) military talks; England (Jul 81) goodwill visit; Pakistan (Nov 81) military talks; Belgium (Jun 81) goodwill visit; Thailand (Jan-Feb 83) military talks; DPRK (Apr 84) goodwill visit; Romania & Yugoslavia (Jul 84) military talks Italy (Oct 85) goodwill visit |

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX B

Annex B provides an associational analysis of the background information of the 60 military leaders described in Annex A.

The data is reviewed and presented according to the following 11 variables:

- organizational affiliation,
- age,
- province of birth,
- historical participation,
- Cultural Revolution experience,
- political orientation,
- connections with the Soviet Union,
- connections with the United States,
- current occupational specialization, and
- military branch of service and subspecialty, and
- foreign travel.

The results are arranged in ten statistical tables comparing the leaders' backgrounds and experiences according to these key factors.

TABLE B1: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Table B1 shows organizational associations and lists individuals according to their membership in 16 key organizations and the following career factors:

- age,
- Cultural Revolution experience, and
- political orientation.

The data on certain key organizations for which information is available can be interpreted as follows:

CCP Central Committee: N=24 The average age of a CCP Central Committee member or alternate member in the leadership sample is approximately 64 years. Six leaders (25 percent) have an unknown date of birth. The Cultural Revolution experiences of these leaders are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 25 | 6 | Rehabilitated |
| 29 | 7 | Survivors |
| 4 | 1 | Beneficiaries |
| 42 | 10 | Unknown |

The political orientation of these members is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 17 | 4 | Deng Group |
| 71 | 17 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 8 | 2 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatists |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |
| 4 | 1 | Unknown |

Party Central Military Commission: N=7 The average age of a Party Central Military Commission member in the leadership sample is approximately 75. The age of one member is unknown. Cultural Revolution experiences are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 57 | 4 | Rehabilitated |
| 29 | 2 | Survivors |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiaries |
| 14 | 1 | Unknown |

Political orientation is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 71 | 5 | Deng Group |
| 29 | 2 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 0 | 0 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatives |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |
| 0 | 0 | Unknown |

CCP Political Bureau: N=5 The average age of an individual on the Political Bureau is approximately 75. Cultural Revolution experiences are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 40 | 2 | Survivor |
| 60 | 3 | Rehabilitated |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiary |

Political orientation is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 80 | 4 | Deng Group |
| 20 | 1 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 0 | 0 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatives |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |

State Central Military Commission: N=6 The average age of a State Central Military Commission member is 75. Cultural Revolution experiences are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 33 | 2 | Survivor |
| 67 | 4 | Rehabilitated |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiary |

Political orientation is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 83 | 5 | Deng Group |
| 17 | 1 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 0 | 0 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatives |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |

Military Region Commanders: N=7 The average age of a Military Region Commander is approximately 70. However, the ages of 4 of the leaders (57 percent) are unknown. Cultural Revolution experiences are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 0 | 0 | Survivor |
| 29 | 2 | Rehabilitated |
| 14 | 1 | Beneficiary |
| 57 | 4 | Unknown |

Political orientation is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 14 | 1 | Deng Group |
| 57 | 4 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 29 | 2 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatives |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |

National Defense Science, Technology and Industry Commission: N=13 The average age of members of this Commission is approximately 59. The date of birth of five leaders (38 percent) is unknown. Cultural Revolution experiences of these leaders are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 15 | 2 | Rehabilitated |
| 23 | 3 | Survivors |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiaries |
| 62 | 0 | Unknown |

The political orientation of these members is as follows: All members are categorized with the Deng Supporter Group, except one whose political orientation is unknown.

PLA General Logistics Department: N=7 The average age of members of this department is approximately 57. The date of birth of two leaders (29 percent) is unknown. Cultural Revolution experiences are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 29 | 2 | Rehabilitated |
| 14 | 1 | Survivors |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiaries |
| 57 | 4 | Unknown |

The political orientation of these members is as follows: All members are categorized with the Deng Supporter Group except one whose political orientation is with the Deng Group.

PLA General Political Department: N=6 The average age of members of this department is approximately 63. Cultural Revolution experiences are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 50 | 3 | Rehabilitated |
| 17 | 1 | Survivors |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiaries |
| 33 | 2 | Unknown |

The political orientation of these members is as follows: All members are categorized with the Deng Supporter Group except one whose political orientation is Moderate.

PLA General Staff Department: N=10 The average age of members of this department is approximately 59. The date of birth of four leaders (40 percent) is unknown. Cultural Revolution experiences of these leaders are as follows: Three leaders (30 percent) are categorized with the Survivors, while the remainder have unknown Cultural Revolution experiences.

Political orientation is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 10 | 1 | Deng Group |
| 70 | 7 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 20 | 2 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatives |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |
| 0 | 0 | Unknown |

TABLE B1: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|---------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| All-Army Office for Guiding Party Rectification | Zhou Keyu | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Advisory Commission | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Gan Weihan | 1909 | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| | Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation | Gan Weihan | 1909 | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Committee (Alternate Member) | Ding Henggao | 1931 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Xin | 1920 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | Survivor | Unknown |
| | Zhang Xiang | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Central Committee (Member) | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| | Xu Huizi | 1936 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| | You Taizhong | 1911 | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B1: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Zhao Nanqi | | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Xianshu | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Keyu | | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhu Guangya | | 1913 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhu Yunqian | | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zou Jiahua | | 1927 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Discipline Inspection Commission | | | | |
| Li Yuan | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiao Hongda | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Military Commission | | | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Hong Xuezhi | | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| Xiao Hongda | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Dezhi | | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Yang Shangkun | | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| Yu Qiuli | | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Aiping | | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| CCP Political Bureau (a.) | | | Standing Committee) | |
| Deng Xiaoping | | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| CCP Political Bureau (b.) | | | Member) | |
| Yang Dezhi | | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Yang Shangkun | | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| Yu Qiuli | | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| CCP Political Bureau (c.) | | | Alternate Member) | |
| Qin Jiwei | | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| CCP Secretariat | | | | |
| Yu Qiuli | | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Central Military Commission | | | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Hong Xuezhi | | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| Yang Dezhi | | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Yang Shangkun | | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| Yu Qiuli | | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B1: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|----------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| | Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference | Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| Military Regions (Commander) | | | | |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| You Taizhong | 1911 | | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Ministry of National Defense | | | | |
| | Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| National Defense Science, Technology & Industry Commission | | | | |
| | Ding Henggao | 1931 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Youguang | 1912 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qian Xuesen | 1912 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xie Guang | 1934 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhu Guangya | 1913 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| National People's Congress (Standing Committee) | | | | |
| | Liu Youguang | 1912 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| PLA General Logistics Department | | | | |
| | Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| | Li Yuan | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Mingpu | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B1: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Xu Guangyi | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Xiang | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zong Shunliu | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| PLA General Political Department | Gan Weihan | 1909 | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yan Jinsheng | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Keyu | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| PLA General Staff Department | Han Huaizhi | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | He Qizong | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Guang | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Kai | Unknown | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Tan Jingqiao | pre-1920 | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Xu Huizi | 1936 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Xin | 1920 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| PLA Schools | Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| PLA Services & Arms | Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| | Fu Jize | 1917 | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Moderates |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jing | 1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Yongtai | 1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Guoyu | pre-1930 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yao Jun | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B1: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>ORGANIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|--------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| State Council | Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | Survivor | Unknown |
| | Yu Qili | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| State Council Ministries (Minister) | Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| State Council Ministries (Vice Minister) | Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |

TABLE B2: AGE ASSOCIATIONS

Table B2 lists the 60 military leaders in chronological order by date of birth with the oldest leader, Deng Zhaoxiang, listed first. Estimated dates of birth have been assigned to some leaders on the basis of available information. Specifically, these terms appear in the Table in the following order:

| <u>Date of Birth</u> | <u>Leader Age</u> |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| pre-1920 | 66-75 years |
| pre-1930 | 56-65 years |
| pre-1940 | 46-55 years |
| post-1940 | 44 years and younger |

Comparisons are provided for members in each age grouping in regard to Cultural Revolution experiences and political orientation. Table B2 also has a summary table which groups leaders within categories of age and tabulates dates concerning the two above-mentioned variables. The date of birth for one-third (20 leaders) of the leadership sample is unknown. A leader born in 1915 or earlier will be 75 years of age or older by 1990 and a potential candidate for an advisory position in his occupational specialty. The size of this future group of 75 years and over (15 leaders) indicates that significant progress has been made in lowering the average age of senior military officials. It is very likely that some members of this group, particularly those already 75 years or older, will be retired before 1990, thus enhancing the trend toward younger senior officers.

TABLE B2: AGE ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------|----------------|---|------------------------------|
| 1902 | Deng Zhaoxiang | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| 1904 | Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| 1907 | Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| 1908 | Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1909 | Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1910 | Yang Dezhi | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| 1911 | You Taizhong | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| 1912 | Liu Youguang | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qian Xuesen | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1913 | Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| | Zhu Guangya | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1914 | Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Yan Jinsheng | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| | Yu Qiuli | Survivor | Deng Group |
| 1916 | Liu Huaqing | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B2: AGE ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------|---------------|---|------------------------------|
| | Xu Guangyi | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhu Yunqian | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1917 | Fu Jize | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Moderates |
| 1920 | Xu Xin | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1925 | Wang Hai | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1927 | Zou Jiahua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1930 | Li Jing | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1931 | Ding Henggao | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Survivor | Unknown |
| 1934 | Xie Guang | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1935 | Zhao Nanqi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Keyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1936 | Xu Huizi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1940 | Li Yongtai | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| 1943 | He Qizong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zong Shunliu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| pre-1920 | Tan Jingqiao | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |

TABLE B2: AGE ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------|----------------|---|------------------------------|
| pre-1930 | | | |
| | Han Huaizhi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Mingpu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Guoyu | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| pre-1940 | | | |
| | Wu Shaozu | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Pin | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Unknown | Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Guang | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Yuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Kai | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yao Jun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Xiang | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B2: AGE ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Zhongru | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown |

AGE ASSOCIATIONS OF SELECTED KEY MILITARY LEADERS
 STATISTICAL SUMMARY

SUMMARY
 (N=60)

| Age Group | Number of Individuals | Political Orientation | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|---------------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| | | Unknown | Leftists | Conservatives | Moderates | Deng Group | Deng Supporter |
| 75-83 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| 65-74 | 15 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| 55-64 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 5 |
| 45-54 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 9 |
| post-1940 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Unknown | 20 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 18 |

TABLE B3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH ASSOCIATIONS

Table B3 presents the sample military leaders' provinces of birth and includes information concerning their dates of birth and political orientation. Sichuan (6 leaders) and Hubei (3 leaders) Provinces are the most commonly shared birthplaces of the selected military leaders. A scarcity of information on this subject results in an unknown province of birth for 39 out of the 60 leaders, or 64 percent of the sample. Consequently, no clear correlations can be drawn by comparing the native place data with dates of birth and political orientation except to note that the Deng Group is most represented in Sichuan (3 leaders).

TABLE B3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>PROVINCE</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Anhui | Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| Guangdong | Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| Hubei | Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Zhu Guangya | 1913 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Hunan | Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Jiangsu | Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | Qian Xuesen | 1912 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Jiangxi | Gan Weihan | 1909 | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Jilin | Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liaoning | Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | Survivor | Unknown |
| Shandong | Li Jing | 1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Shanghai | Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Sichuan | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Xu Guangyi | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| | You Taizhong | 1911 | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| | Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |

TABLE B3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>PROVINCE</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Sichuan (probably) | | | | |
| He Qizong | | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Unknown | | | | |
| Ding Henggao | | 1931 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Fu Jize | | 1917 | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Moderates |
| Fu Quanyou | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Han Huaizhi | | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| He Jinheng | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Jiang Xianchen | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Guang | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Jiulong | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yongtai | | 1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yuan | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Jingsong | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Kai | | Unknown | Unknown | Moderates |
| Liu Lifeng | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Mingpu | | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Youguang | | 1912 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Shen Rongjun | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Sheng Zhihua | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Tan Jingqiao | | pre-1920 | Unknown | Moderates |
| Wu Shaozu | | pre-1940 | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiang Shouzhi | | pre-1920 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| Xiao Hongda | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xie Guang | | 1934 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Huizi | | 1936 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Xin | | 1920 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yan Jinsheng | | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| Yang Guoyu | | pre-1930 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yao Jun | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Ye Zhengda | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Pin | | pre-1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Xiang | | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Yunyu | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhongru | | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Xianshu | | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Keyu | | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B3: PROVINCE OF BIRTH ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>PROVINCE</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| | Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zong Shunliu | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B4: HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION ASSOCIATIONS

Table B4 compares participation in the selected key historical events with dates of birth, Cultural Revolution experiences, and political orientations. Ten military leaders (17 percent) are known to have participated in the Korean War. Twelve (though possibly 13 to 22 percent if unofficial sources reporting their participation are counted) undertook the Long March. The data indicate only three participants (5 percent) in the Vietnam Border War. Recent appointees, for whom this kind of data is scarce but who probably are younger, are also likely participants in this event. No data concerning historical participation are available for 42 (70 percent) of the military leaders.

TABLE B4: HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION</u> | | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|---------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | |
| Autumn Harvest Uprising | | |
| Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Korean War | | |
| Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Wang Hai | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiang Shouzhi | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| Xu Xin | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yan Jinsheng | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | Deng Group |
| You Taizhong | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| Zhu Yunqian | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Long March | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| Liu Huaqing | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Xiang Shouzhi | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yan Jinsheng | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| You Taizhong | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| Yu Qiuli | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |

TABLE B4: HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION ASSOCIATIONS

HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Long March (possibly) | | |
| Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Nanchang Uprising | | |
| Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| No known participation | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| Ding Henggao | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Fu Jize | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Moderates |
| Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Han Huaizhi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| He Jinheng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Guang | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Jing | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Jiulong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yongtai | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | Moderates |
| Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Mingpu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Youguang | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Qian Xuesen | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Tan Jingqiao | Unknown | Moderates |
| Wu Shaozu | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xie Guang | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Guangyi | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Huizi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Guoyu | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yao Jun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Pin | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Xiang | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B4: HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION ASSOCIATIONS

HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhongru | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Nanqi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Keyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Wenyuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown |
| Zhu Guangya | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zong Shunliu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zou Jiahua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Northern Expedition | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Vietnam Border War | | |
| He Qizong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Yu Zhenwu | Survivor | Unknown |

TABLE B5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION ASSOCIATIONS

Table B5 indicates that 11 military leaders (18 percent of the sample) survived the Cultural Revolution without interruption or setbacks to their careers; 17 (28 percent) were purged and later rehabilitated; and one leader (2 percent) benefited in terms of career promotions. The experiences of 31 leaders (52 percent) during the Cultural Revolution are unknown.

The Cultural Revolution beneficiary is grouped with the moderates; of the rehabilitees, 71 percent are either key implementors of Deng Xiaoping's policies or very supportive of them; and 91 percent of the survivors also are grouped with the Deng Group or Deng Supporter Group. With only one beneficiary, the data indicates that an active role in Cultural Revolution events or policies is no longer conducive to upward career mobility.

TABLE B5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>CUTLURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCES</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Beneficiary | | | |
| Rehabilitee (1959-77) | You Taizhong | 1911 | Moderates |
| Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Deng Group | |
| Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Liu Youguang | 1912 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | Moderates | |
| Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Moderates |
| Xu Guangyi | 1916 | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Fu Jize | 1917 | Moderates |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Deng Group | |
| Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Yan Jinsheng | 1914 | Moderates |
| Gan Weihan | 1909 | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Deng Group |
| Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Deng Group | |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Deng Group | |
| Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Survivor | | | |
| | Qian Xuesen | 1912 | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wang Hai | 1925 | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xie Guang | 1934 | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Xin | 1920 | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Deng Group |
| | Yang Guoyu | pre-1930 | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Deng Group |
| | Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | Unknown |
| | Zhang Xiang | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhu Guangya | 1913 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Unknown | Ding Henggao | 1931 | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B5: CULTURAL REVOLUTION ASSOCIATIONS

CUTLURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCES

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Han Huazhi | pre-1930 | Deng Supporter Group |
| He Jinheng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| He Qizong | 1943 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Guang | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Jing | 1930 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Jiulong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yongtai | 1940 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | Moderates |
| Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Mingpu | pre-1930 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Tan Jingqiao | pre-1920 | Moderates |
| Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Huizi | 1936 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yao Jun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Keyu | 1935 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown |
| Zong Shunliu | 1943 | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION ASSOCIATIONS

Table B6 groups the military leaders according to their political orientation alongside their dates of birth and Cultural Revolution experiences. This table is followed by a statistical summary of the number of military leaders belonging to each political orientation group, the average age of each group, and the Cultural Revolution experiences of each group.

The data indicate overwhelming support among senior military leaders for Deng's political leadership, particularly his reform programs. While the members of the Deng Group are at or above retirement age, those in the Deng Supporter Group are relatively young and because data on birthdates for leaders appointed during the past year are not yet available, their average age could well be even lower. Key leaders who previously represented the left side of the political spectrum lost their influential positions in September 1985. These leaders include Ye Jianying and Xu Xiangqian.

TABLE B6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATON</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|
| Deng Group | | | |
| | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| | Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) |
| | Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Survivor |
| | Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) |
| Deng Supporter Group | | | |
| | Ding Henggao | 1931 | Unknown |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Gan Weihan | 1909 | Rehabilitee (1967-72) |
| | Han Huazhi | pre-1930 | Unknown |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown | Unknown |
| | He Qizong | 1943 | Unknown |
| | Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Li Guang | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Li Jing | 1930 | Unknown |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Li Yongtai | 1940 | Unknown |
| | Li Yuan | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Liu Mingpu | pre-1930 | Unknown |
| | Liu Youguang | 1912 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) |
| | Qian Xuesen | 1912 | Survivor |
| | Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor |
| | Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | Rehabilitee (1969-79) |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) |
| | Xie Guang | 1934 | Survivor |
| | Xu Guangyi | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) |
| | Xu Huizi | 1936 | Unknown |
| | Xu Xin | 1920 | Survivor |
| | Yang Guoyu | pre-1930 | Survivor |
| | Yao Jun | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | Unknown |
| | Zhang Xiang | Unknown | Survivor |
| | Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Unknown |

TABLE B6: POLITICAL ORIENTATION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|
| Moderates | Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | Survivor |
| | Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | Unknown |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhou Keyu | 1935 | Unknown |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | Unknown |
| | Zhu Guangya | 1913 | Survivor |
| | Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1967-78) |
| | Zong Shunliu | 1943 | Unknown |
| | Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Unknown |
| | Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) |
| Unknown | Fu Jize | 1917 | Rehabilitee (1966-77) |
| | Liu Kai | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Tan Jingqiao | pre-1920 | Unknown |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) |
| | Yan Jinsheng | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-70) |
| | You Taizhong | 1911 | Beneficiary |
| | Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | Survivor |
| | Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown |

POLITICAL ORIENTATION ASSOCIATIONS OF SELECTED KEY MILITARY LEADERS

SUMMARY
(N=60)

| Political Orientation | Number of Individuals | Estimated Average Age | Cultural Revolution Experience | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | | | Beneficiary | Rehabilitee | Survivor | Unknown |
| Deng Group | 6 | 75 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| Deng Supporter Group | 45 | 58 | 0 | 7 | 9 | 29 |
| Moderates | 7 | 61 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 2 |
| Conservatives | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Leftists | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Unknown | 2 | 54 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 60 | 63 | 1 (2 percent) | 16 (27 percent) | 11 (18 percent) | 32 (53 percent) |

TABLE B7: SOVIET CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

Table B7 indicates which Chinese military leaders have had contact with the Soviet Union and the nature of that contact. Forty-two (70 percent) of the leaders are not known to have had any contacts with the USSR. Because career data on recent appointees is incomplete, it is quite possible that this indication of little Soviet contact is overstated. With the recent emphasis on appointing younger and better educated military officers, particularly those with technical backgrounds, it is likely that many of these new appointees received technical training in the USSR during the 1950s. Of the known connections since 1949, 2 leaders have participated in talks with Soviet officials and 15 have made one or more trips to the Soviet Union.

TABLE B7: SOVIET CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>CONNECTION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| contact with advisers | | | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group | |
| Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group | |
| You Taizhong | 1911 | Beneficiary | Moderates | |
| Zhu Guangya | 1913 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group | |
| contact with advisers (possibly) | | | | |
| Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group | |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group | |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group | |
| Mbr, SSFA | | | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group | |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group | |
| No known contacts | | | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates | |
| Ding Henggao | 1931 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Fu Jize | 1917 | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Moderates | |
| Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Gan Weihan | 1909 | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Han Huazhi | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| He Jinheng | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| He Qizong | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Guang | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Jing | 1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Jiulong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Yongtai | 1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | Unknown | Moderates | |
| Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |
| Liu Mingpu | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group | |

TABLE B7: SOVIET CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>CONNECTION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| | Liu Youguang | 1912 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qian Xuesen | 1912 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Tan Jingqiao | pre-1920 | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xie Guang | 1934 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Guangyi | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Huizi | 1936 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Xin | 1920 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yan Jinsheng | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| | Yang Guoyu | pre-1930 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yao Jun | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | Survivor | Unknown |
| | Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Xiang | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Keyu | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zong Shunliu | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| post-1949 talks | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |

TABLE B7: SOVIET CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>CONNECTION NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|---|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| post-1949 training Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| post-1949 travel (1 trip) Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| post-1949 travel (3 trips) Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| post-1949 travel (5 trips) Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| pre-1949 training Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| pre-1949 travel Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |

TABLE B8: UNITED STATES CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

Table B8 indicates which Chinese military leaders have had contact with the United States and the nature of that contact. The data are presented in context with date of birth, Cultural Revolution experiences, and political orientation. The average age of leaders with contacts is 71 years. Nine leaders (15 percent) are Korean War veterans. In the past, Chinese military leaders' contacts with the United States came largely through participation in this event. The current data indicate, however, that with Deng's reform emphasis on opening to the West, the recent US contacts of most key Chinese military leaders have involved travel or talks in the United States. Contact with the US since 1972 can be documented for 17 (28 percent) of the leaders in the sample, and all are grouped with the Deng Group or Deng Supporter Group. Thirty-six (60 percent) of the leaders are not known to have had US contacts.

TABLE B8: UNITED STATES CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>CONNECTION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| contact with observers | | | | |
| | Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Korean War | | | | |
| | Gan Weihan | 1909 | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| | Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Xin | 1920 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yan Jinsheng | 1914 | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| | Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | You Taizhong | 1911 | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| | Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| No known contacts | | | | |
| | Ding Henggao | 1931 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Fu Jize | 1917 | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Moderates |
| | Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Han Huaizhi | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | He Jinheng | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | He Qizong | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jing | 1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Yongtai | 1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Yuan | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Kai | Unknown | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Mingpu | pre-1930 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Youguang | 1912 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Tan Jingqiao | pre-1920 | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B8: UNITED STATES CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>CONNECTION NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Xu Huizi | 1936 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Guoyu | pre-1930 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| Yao Jun | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | Survivor | Unknown |
| Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Keyu | 1935 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| Zong Shunliu | 1943 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| post-1972 contacts | | | |
| Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| You Taizhong | 1911 | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| post-1972 talks | | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Li Guang | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xie Guang | 1934 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Xin | 1920 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Dezhi | 1910 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Survivor | Deng Group |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| post-1972 travel | | | |
| Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |

TABLE B8: UNITED STATES CONNECTION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>CONNECTION NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Li Guang | Unknown | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Wang Hai | 1925 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xie Guang | 1934 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Guangyi | 1916 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Xiang | Unknown | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| pre-1949 training | | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| pre-1949 travel | | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| pre-1972 training | | | |
| Qian Xuesen | 1912 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhu Guangya | 1913 | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATION ASSOCIATIONS

Table B9 shows the current occupational specializations of the military leaders. Of the sample, 18 leaders (30 percent) have direct operational command responsibilities for implementing the reform programs. Of this key group, 13 (72 percent) are grouped with the Deng Group or Deng Supporter Group, but four (22 percent) are considered Moderates. This is a largest grouping of Moderates under one specific functional category in this study. In addition, 12 military leaders in the sample (20 percent) have scientific and technical responsibilities. These scientific and technical experts are all believed to be appropriately classified with the Deng Supporter Group except one, whose political orientation is unknown.

TABLE B9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>SPECIALIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|---|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Military:general policy/management | | | |
| Han Huaizhi | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | | Moderates |
| Tan Jingqiao | Unknown | | Moderates |
| Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Huizi | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Xin | Survivor | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Dezhi | Survivor | | Deng Group |
| Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | | Deng Group |
| Military:management/modernization | | | |
| He Qizong | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | | Deng Group |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Guang | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Guangyi | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | | Deng Group |
| Zhang Xiang | Survivor | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Military:management/staff | | | |
| Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Mingpu | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yan Jinsheng | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | | Moderates |
| Yu Qiuli | Survivor | | Deng Group |
| Zhang Zhongru | Survivor | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Nanqi | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Keyu | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Wenyuan | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhu Yunqian | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zong Shunliu | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |
| Military:operations/commander | | | |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | | Moderates |
| Fu Jize | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | | Moderates |
| Fu Quanyou | Unknown | | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B9: CURRENT SPECIALIZATION ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>SPECIALIZATION</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|---|----------------|---|------------------------------|
| | He Jinheng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jing | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Yongtai | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Huaqing | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wang Hai | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| | Yang Guoyu | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yao Jun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | You Taizhong | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Survivor | Unknown |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Military:operations/political commissar | Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Youguang | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Military:S&T | Ding Henggao | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qian Xuesen | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wu Shaizu | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xie Guang | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Pin | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhu Guangya | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zou Jiahua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Party:general policy/management | Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Party:organizational work | Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B10: BRANCH OF SERVICE ASSOCIATIONS

Table B10 compares the three major branches of military service and the particular substantive expertise within those branches with the Cultural Revolution experiences and political orientations of the leaders in the sample. In addition, it notes these career factors for the 2d Artillery and for those involved mainly in research and development activities.

Army:N=41

Sixty-eight percent of the leaders are members of the PLA ground forces (army). The Cultural Revolution experiences of these leaders are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 27 | 11 | Rehabilitated |
| 20 | 8 | Survivors |
| 2 | 1 | Beneficiaries |
| 51 | 21 | Unknown |

The political orientation of these leaders is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 12 | 5 | Deng Group |
| 73 | 30 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 12 | 5 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatives |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |
| 2 | 1 | Unknown |

Navy:N=5

Eight percent of the leaders in the sample are from the Navy. Their Cultural Revolution experiences are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 60 | 3 | Rehabilitated |
| 20 | 1 | Survivors |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiaries |
| 20 | 1 | Unknown |

Their political orientation falls into two categories: three leaders (60 percent) are in the Deng Supporter Group; two leaders (40 percent) are grouped as Moderates.

Air Force:N=5

Eight percent of the leaders in the sample are from the Air Force. The Cultural Revolution experiences of this group are as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 20 | 1 | Rehabilitated |
| 40 | 2 | Survivor |
| 0 | 0 | Beneficiaries |
| 40 | 2 | Unknown |

Regarding political orientation, one is unknown; the rest (four leaders) are categorized in the Deng Supporter Group.

2d Artillery:

This group of three leaders (5 percent) have unknown Cultural Revolution experiences. The political orientation of all three of the leaders is with the Deng Supporter Group.

PLA Research and Development:

The Cultural Revolution experiences of this group of two leaders (three percent) are unknown, and their political orientation is assigned to the Deng Supporter Group.

In sum, the PLA ground forces appear to be closely aligned with Deng's reform program. Overwhelming support is provided by the much smaller Air Force and 2d Artillery leadership groups. The Navy is less solid in its support in that two of its five leaders are considered Moderates.

TABLE B10: BRANCH OF SERVICE ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>BRANCH OF SERVICE</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Deng Xiaoping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Xiao Hongda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| 2d Artillery:command & control | He Jinheng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| 2d Artillery:political affairs | Liu Lifeng | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Air Force:command & control | Li Yongtai | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wang Hai | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yao Jun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yu Zhenwu | Survivor | Unknown |
| Air Force:political affairs | Zhu Yunqian | Rehabilitee (1967-78) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:command & control | Fu Quanyou | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Jiulong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Jingsong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qin Jiwei | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| | Xiang Shouzhi | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Moderates |
| | Yang Dezhi | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | You Taizhong | Beneficiary | Moderates |
| | Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:intelligence | Zhang Zhongru | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:logistics | Hong Xuezhi | Rehabilitee (1959-77) | Deng Group |
| | Li Yuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Mingpu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Guangyi | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Xiang | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhao Nanqi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zong Shunliu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:modernization/staff | Han Huaizhi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Kai | Unknown | Moderates |
| | Tan Jingqiao | Unknown | Moderates |

TABLE B10: BRANCH OF SERVICE ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>BRANCH OF SERVICE</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|----------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Xu Huizi | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xu Xin | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:plans & operations | | | |
| | He Qizong | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:policy/planning | | | |
| | Yang Shangkun | Rehabilitee (1966-78) | Deng Group |
| | Zhang Aiping | Rehabilitee (1967-73) | Deng Group |
| Army:political affairs | | | |
| | Gan Weihan | Rehabilitee (1967-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Youguang | Rehabilitee (1966-74) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yan Jinsheng | Rehabilitee (1967-70) | Moderates |
| | Yu Qiuli | Survivor | Deng Group |
| | Zhou Keyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Wenyuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:research & development | | | |
| | Ding Henggao | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Qian Xuesen | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Shen Rongjun | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Wu Shaozu | Rehabilitee (1969-79) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Xie Guang | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Pin | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhou Yiping | Unknown | Unknown |
| | Zhu Guangya | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zou Jiahua | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Army:training | | | |
| | Xiao Ke | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| Navy:command & control | | | |
| | Deng Zhaoxiang | Rehabilitee (1966-75) | Moderates |
| | Fu Jize | Rehabilitee (1966-77) | Moderates |
| | Li Jing | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Liu Huaqing | Rehabilitee (1968-72) | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Yang Guoyu | Survivor | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B10: BRANCH OF SERVICE ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>BRANCH OF SERVICE</u> | <u>NAME</u> | <u>CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXPERIENCE</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--|----------------|---|------------------------------|
| PLA: research & development | | | |
| | Ye Zhengda | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| Unknown | | | |
| | Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |
| | Li Guang | Unknown | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B11: FOREIGN TRAVEL ASSOCIATIONS

Table B11 indicates that forty-two percent (25) of the PLA leaders--mainly senior leaders for whom abundant biographic information is available--have traveled abroad. The average age of a leader with foreign travel is 66. Recent appointees, for whom this kind of data are scarce, may not have their travels reflected in this table.

The political orientation of those who have travelled abroad is as follows:

| <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Category</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 20 | 5 | Deng Group |
| 64 | 16 | Deng Supporter Group |
| 16 | 4 | Moderates |
| 0 | 0 | Conservatives |
| 0 | 0 | Leftists |

Of those 35 leaders not known to have travelled, the average age is 60 years, and 83 percent (29) of these leaders are categorized with the Deng Supporter Group. Nine percent (3 leaders) are considered Moderates.

The United States was the country most frequently visited (9 visits), followed by Romania and North Korea (DPRK) with seven visits each. Burma, Thailand, and Pakistan received four PLA visits; Yugoslavia, Sweden, and Italy had three visits each. Altogether, 36 countries were visited by senior PLA leaders.

TABLE B11: FOREIGN TRAVEL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------|--------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Deng Xiaoping | 1904 | Burma (Jan 78) gov't talks; Nepal (Feb 78) gov't talks; DPRK (Sep 78) gov't talks; Japan (Oct 78) gov't talks; Thailand (Nov 78) gov't talks; Malaysia (Nov 78) gov't talks; Singapore (Nov 78) gov't talks; Burma (Nov 78) gov't talks; Algeria (Dec 78) funeral rep; United States (Jan-Feb 79) gov't talks; Japan (Feb 79) gov't talks; DPRK (Apr 82) gov't talks. | Deng Group |
| Deng Zhaoxiang | 1902 | No known travel | Moderates |
| Ding Henggao | 1931 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Fu Jize | 1917 | Burma (Dec 60) Zhang Aiping delegation; Romania (Jul 84) Yang Dezhi delegation; Thailand (Feb 85) military delegation. | Moderates |
| Fu Quanyou | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Gan Weihan | 1909 | Burma (Jan 61) military delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Han Huazhi | pre-1930 | Pakistan (Dec 80) military delegation; Rwanda (Jun 82) military delegation; Ecuador and Columbia (Aug-Sep 1985) military delegation; Venezuela and Mexico (Sep 85) goodwill military visits. | Deng Supporter Group |
| He Jinheng | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| He Qizong | 1943 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Hong Xuezhi | 1913 | No known travel | Deng Group |
| Jiang Xianchen | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B11: FOREIGN TRAVEL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|--------------|--------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Li Guang | Unknown | United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Jing | 1930 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Jiulong | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yongtai | 1940 | Romania (Jul 84) Yang Dezhi delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Li Yuan | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Huaqing | 1916 | Yugoslavia (Dec 79) military delegation; United States (May 80) Geng Biao delegation; Egypt, Sudan (May 81) military delegation; Bangladesh (Mar 82) military delegation; Bangladesh, Pakistan (Nov 83) military delegation; UK, Yugoslavia (Nov 84) military delegation United States, France (Nov 85) Navy delegation | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Jingsong | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Kai | Unknown | Somalia (Apr 81) military delegation; Togo and Benin (Mar 82) military delegation. | Moderates |
| Liu Lifeng | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Mingpu | pre-1930 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Liu Youguang | 1912 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Qian Xuesen | 1912 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Qin Jiwei | 1914 | Portugal (Oct 81) goodwill visit; Romania (Sep 81) military delegation; Romania and Yugoslavia (May 83) Hu Yaobang delegation. | Deng Group |

TABLE B11: FOREIGN TRAVEL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Shen Rongjun | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Sheng Zhihua | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Tan Jingqiao Wang Hai | pre-1920 1925 | No known travel DPRK (Oct 75) military delegation; United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. Accompanied Zhang Aiping to US (Jun 84) | Moderates Deng Supporter Group |
| Wu Shaozu | pre-1940 | United States (Jun 84) Zhang Aiping delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiang Shouzhi | pre-1920 | DPRK (Sep 79) military delegation; Romania (Sep 84) military delegation. | Moderates |
| Xiao Hongda | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xiao Ke | 1908 | Algeria (Oct 84) PLA delegation; United States (Oct 80) PLA Military Academy delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xie Guang | 1934 | Japan (Jul 79) astronauts delegation; United States (May 80) Liu Huaqing delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Guangyi | 1916 | India (Jan 58) Ye Jianying delegation; United States (Sep 80) military delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Huizi | 1936 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Xu Xin | 1920 | Guinea (Dec 81) military delegation; Africa (Aug 82) military delegation; Sweden, Norway, Italy (Oct 84) military delegation United States (Oct-Nov 85) internat'l strategic issues conference | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yan Jinsheng Yang Dezhi | 1914 1910 | No known travel DPRK (Aug 78) military talks; France (Jul 81) military talks; England | Moderates Deng Group |

TABLE B11: FOREIGN TRAVEL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| Yang Guoyu | pre-1930 | (Jul 81) goodwill visit; Pakistan (Nov 81) military talks; Belgium (Jun 81) goodwill visit; Thailand (Jan-Feb 83) military talks; DPRK (Apr 84) goodwill visit; Romania & Yugoslavia (Jul 84) military talks Italy (Oct 85) goodwill visit | Deng Supporter Group |
| Yang Shangkun | 1907 | Tunisia (1977) military delegation. DPRK (May 84) Hu Yaobang delegation | Deng Group |
| Yao Jun | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Ye Zhengda | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| You Taizhong | 1911 | DPRK (Jun 85) military delegation. | Moderates |
| Yu Qiuli | 1914 | Kampuchea (Nov 78) state talks; Japan (Apr 80) gov't talks. | Deng Group |
| Yu Zhenwu | 1931 | No known travel | Unknown |
| Zhang Aiping | 1910 | Sweden (Jun 78) goodwill visit; Italy (Jun 78) goodwill visit; France (Jun 84) military talks; United States (Jun 84) military talks; Canada (Jun-Jul 84) military talks; Japan (Jul 84) military talks; Pakistan, Romania, Portugal (Jun 85) military talks | Deng Group |
| Zhang Pin | pre-1940 | United States (Feb-Mar 84) military delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Xiang | Unknown | Thailand (Dec 80) PLA medical delegation; United States (Oct 81) PLA medical delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Yunyu | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |

TABLE B11: FOREIGN TRAVEL ASSOCIATIONS

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>DATE OF BIRTH</u> | <u>FOREIGN TRAVEL</u> | <u>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</u> |
|----------------|--------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Zhang Zhenhuan | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhang Zhongru | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Nanqi | 1935 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhao Xianshu | Unknown | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Keyu | 1935 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Wenyuan | 1943 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhou Yiping | Unknown | No known travel | Unknown |
| Zhu Guangya | 1913 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zhu Yunqian | 1916 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zong Shunliu | 1943 | No known travel | Deng Supporter Group |
| Zou Jiahua | 1927 | Sweden, Italy (Feb 79) Zhang Aiping military delegation. | Deng Supporter Group |

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX C

Appendix C presents information on 10 key issues relating to military modernization in China and the positions of selected key leaders on these issues. The issues considered are:

- general goals,
- ideological focuses,
- cadre and administrative reform,
- economic dimensions,
- Party-military relations,
- state-military relations,
- military-civilian relations,
- military training and education,
- research and development, and
- weapons and equipment development.

These issues are briefly discussed and summarized according to the comments of selected leaders who are representative of various levels and departments of the military bureaucracy and command structure. The issues define the essential areas of China's military modernization program (as addressed by key military leaders) and reflect a military leadership committed to Deng Xiaoping's political leadership and policies. Deng's program aims at producing a PLA which is well disciplined, motivated, and led by younger, more competent military officers who are active in promoting and participating in national construction. While supporting the open-door policy, the PLA can also contribute substantially to the indigenous development of selected scientific and technological projects. Therefore, the PLA is crucial for the political success of the modernization program, and, in performing its designated functions, it is likely that the PLA will bring about the simultaneous modernization of its own leadership and organization.

There are two key qualifications on PLA prospects for a successful political role in Deng's modernization program and its own modernization: The reform measures must be introduced at a rate that does not disrupt PLA discipline. Characteristically the PLA is an organization instilled with discipline and heavy indoctrination concerning national goals. These qualities make the PLA a key tool for use by Party political authorities in implementing the reform programs. Also, the reforms must not be so radical that key military leadership support is alienated. The extensive military leadership changes in 1985, which strengthened Deng's political authority and eliminated potential key opponents, suggests that PLA reform measures, under Deng's leadership, are unlikely to become extreme and will not encounter serious opposition.

These reform issues were chosen after reviewing statements made by the selected leaders between June 1984 and September 1985, most of which appeared in the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report/China.

1. GENERAL GOALS

Military modernization in China plays a key but supporting role in China's overall modernization, which gives higher priorities to modernizing agriculture, industry, and science and technology. The PLA acts as a "shock force" for stimulating and mobilizing popular commitment to proclaimed official programs and goals. Because of its previous heavy involvement in Cultural Revolution activities, the PLA leadership has emphasized ideological strengthening to help it function effectively as a role model. Ideological strengthening includes rectifying any residual "leftist" thinking aimed at disrupting or impeding the smooth progress of modernization. At the same time, directives warn against corruption which might emerge from opportunities provided to PLA cadres and fighters by the new economic programs.

Aside from ideological concerns, a basic PLA goal is to reduce, simplify, reform, and regularize its military structure. This also means upgrading the educational requirements for PLA service, retiring veterans to advisory status, and promoting younger cadres in their place. Basic part-time schooling and advanced institute training are parts of the PLA's educational planning.

General goals which include significant PLA involvement in the civilian economy emphasize promoting the indigenous development of selected scientific and technical skills and facilities for weapons development, but more particularly development for the benefit of the civilian industries and economy because the PLA is considered a major resource for training and supporting the civilian work force. Because PLA leadership stresses the need for coordination of all sectors of society, the National Defense Science, Technology and Industry Commission was reorganized and re-staffed in order to manage closer PLA-civilian coordination and cooperation. The open-door policy toward the West and foreign investment were both recognized as essential to China's development, as was a peaceful world environment.

Table C1 provides excerpts from speeches on modernization of the PLA in terms of these general goals. The leaders all have key positions, and each has a special constituency (government agencies, command and staff organizations, political organizations, party members, research and development personnel, and veteran cadres). The key sectors involved in military modernization are covered by this group of leaders. Subsequent tables will show that although these leaders spoke on several other issues of military modernization, this set of leaders, quoted in Table C1, addressed themselves to the general goals of China's military modernization.

TABLE C1: GENERAL GOALS

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|--|---|
| Deng Xiaoping Chairman, CCP and Central Military Commissions | "In light of the current needs of the whole Party and government and the people throughout the country to wholeheartedly subordinate themselves and attend to the overall interests of national construction, the PLA has its share of responsibility. The PLA should take action in close coordination with the overall situation" (Speech to the Central Military Commission, 1 November 1984). |
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "To build a Chinese-type modernized and regularized revolutionary Army, we should promote the Army's revolutionization, modernization and regularization. These are interrelated and promote each other, and one is indispensable. We should take the modernization of our Army as our key task" (Article on PLA modernization in <u>Hongqi</u> , 1 August 1984). |
| Zhang Aiping Minister of National Defense | "We should reform our organization and various systems, intensify military and political training, and raise the science and educational level of all commanders and fighters of our Army. We should strengthen the work of logistic support, defense science and technology, and defense industry, and make efforts to raise the level of modernization of our Army's weapons and equipment, to speed up the pace in making our Army cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, more educated, and professionally competent, and to continually enhance the combat effectiveness of our Army" (Speech at Army Day Reception, 31 July 1984). |
| Yang Dezhi Chief of PLA General Staff | "Only when the country is prosperous could the Army become powerful. The whole Army should continue to foster the glorious tradition of plain living and hard struggle and of building the Army through thrift and hard work. It should consciously subordinate itself to and serve the needs of the country's four modernizations in every task and should work to ensure the smooth progress of economic structural reform" (Speech to PLA delegation on Zhao Ziyang's government work report, 28 March 1985). |

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|---|--|
| Yu Qiuli Director, PLA General Political Department | "Army comrades should serve and cherish the overall interest--national construction. Economic construction is the focus of the whole party in the new period. Our Army is obliged to understand, show concern for, and support economic construction" (Speech to Discipline Inspection Commission, Central Military Commission, 2 November 1984). |
| Hong Xuezhi Director, PLA General Logistics Department | "In considering the situation as a whole, one must have a correct understanding of the dialectical relationship between national defense construction and the economic construction of the country. Economic construction is the material foundation for national defense construction, and the modernization of national defense is possible only when it is based on the development of the country's industrial and agricultural production, as well as science and technology" (Speech at All-Army Conference Logistics Work, 13 December 1984). |

2. IDEOLOGICAL FOCUSES

The Chinese leadership, including the military, continues to promote two broad campaigns, one stressing the expansion of China's economic growth and productivity (socialist material civilization), the other aimed at preserving and strengthening popular adherence to certain moralistic principles and guarding against their erosion through corruption, economic gain, and exposures to Western culture and values (socialist spiritual civilization).

The first campaign emphasizes the need for flexibility and innovative approaches to "solving new problems" in realizing China's Four Modernizations program. The broad parameters of "spiritual civilization"--the second campaign--include inculcating individual values such as patriotism, discipline, selflessness, and community service. Ideally, in implementing these two campaigns, a balance is to be struck between mobilizing popular energies toward China's national development while preserving the "spiritual" or indigenous (both Marxist and Chinese) values needed to ease the modernization process and keep it on course.

The Third Plenum of the CCP's 12th Congress held in October 1984 set forth ideas not all of which were based on concepts found in Marxist classics. To provide authoritative ideological guidance and support for the newly prescribed institutional and policy innovations, Deng's works, compiled and entitled Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, were published in January 1985.

As the selected statements presented in Table C2 indicate, the successful implementation of both the material and spiritual civilization campaigns is seen by the military leadership as basic to the national defense modernization.

TABLE C2: IDEOLOGICAL FOCUSES

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|--|---|
| Deng Xiaoping Chairman, CCP and State Military Commissions | In addressing the ideological innovations of the Third Plenum, Deng said: "The 'Decisions on Reform of the Economic Structure' has evoked strong response. It contains some words not said by our forefathers. . . . nevertheless, it is a very good document" (Speech at Third Plenary Session, Central Advisory Commission, 22 October 1984). |
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission, and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "Through the joint activities of building socialist spiritual civilization, our Army has also learned from the people good ideology, good work style, and good experience. . . . The People's Army, which carried out earthshaking undertakings in the years of war, has now become a great wall of steel defending the motherland, and a key force for building socialist material and spiritual civilization" (Article on PLA Modernization in <u>Renmin Ribao</u> , 16 September 1984). |
| Yu Qiuli Director, PLA General Political Department | "We must step up the building of socialist spiritual civilization while promoting the building of material civilization. . . . the progress of a socialist society relies not only on the growth of material wealth but also on the constant promotion of communist ideology among people as well as the constant display of revolutionary spirit. These are the basic principles that we must adhere to in the socialist period" (Speech at Second Stage Party Rectification Work Meeting, 29 March 1985). |
| Qin Qiwei Commander, Beijing Military Region | "The broad masses of Party members should really uphold the communist outlook on life and the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly and overcome individualism of all description. Put into practice the 'four subordinate relationships'--the individual should be subordinate to the organization, the lower level to the higher level, the interests of the part to the interests of the whole, and minor principles should be subordinate to major principles" (Speech to PLA cadres in Shanxi Province, 1 April 1985). |

3. CADRES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

The CCP Military Commission, meeting from 23 May through 6 June 1985, declared that structural reform, reduction in strength, and reorganization are central projects for the PLA during the next 2 years. The overall goal is to reduce the Armed Forces by one million members. Several key personnel changes followed this meeting, both at the general staff and department levels, and within the military regions. Military region commands were reduced from 11 to 7. Key bodies such as the National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission were restructured with significant staffing changes. In September 1985, leadership changes reached the Political Bureau, with six military leaders resigning, including Standing Committee Member Ye Jianying.

Repeated emphasis is placed on building a "third echelon" of younger (between 30 and 50 years), better educated (middle school and military academy trained), and professionally competent cadres to begin filling the leadership ranks. Veterans are encouraged, with both ideological and practical incentives, to retire. A major innovative feature of these policies is that the restrictive seniority system prevalent in the past is being bypassed in order to promote talented and trained officers.

Military organizations at all levels are to become streamlined and are to improve their internal management systems by implementing standardized personnel practices, modern inventory and accounting procedures, and quality control measures. Stress is placed on improving organizational work-style and efficiency by providing clear goals and responsibilities and by eliminating unnecessary meetings and paper work. The overall goal is to maximize the proper use of scarce resources.

Table C3 excerpts selected leaders' statements on this issue. The ensuing promotion opportunities in the PLA should raise the morale of a large portion of the Armed Forces but it might also cause some friction, especially if this reform is carried out too rapidly.

TABLE C3: CADRE AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|---|---|
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "We should strengthen our sense of organization, planning, accuracy, and discipline in the entire work and command. Our ability in this regard should first of all be fostered in the course of education and training. The modernization of the Army has necessitated its regularization. Regularization is needed in order to modernize the Army" (Article on PLA Modernization in <u>Hongqi</u> , 1 August 1984). |
| Yang Dezhi Chief of PLA General Staff | "Judging from the present situation in the Army as a whole, the size and numbers of the troops are a bit too large, the establishment of the Army is far from scientific and rational, there are too many administrative levels in the Army leadership, high-level offices are redundant but work efficiency is low, interaction between the various services is insufficient, and the number of cadres and administrative and logistics personnel is larger than it should be. All these factors have directly or indirectly hindered our Army's modernization program" (Article written for <u>Hongqi</u> , 1 August 1985). In an interview of 28 July 1985, published by <u>Xinhua</u> (Beijing), Yang explained: "The readjusted leading bodies are smaller in size but highly trained, younger in average age and higher in knowledge structure. In the three (PLA) general departments, the number of their leading bodies has been reduced by 23.8 percent. The number of leading-body members of the military regions following the merger has been cut to half as many as before. People's Armed Forces troops of counties and cities are to be incorporated into the local establishment and frontier units transferred to the public security departments. The proportions of the troops' composition will be adjusted to strengthen the various combined armed units. Our army will further develop in the direction of combined arms units." |

Leader

Yu Qiuli
Director, PLA General
Political Department

Comment

"To do a good job in structural reform and strength-reduction reorganization is this (1985) and next year's (1986) central task for the PLA. Discipline inspection committees at all levels should start from this task of overall interests, clearly know their responsibilities, and concentrate their forces on firmly doing good discipline inspection work in the course of strength-reduction reorganization" (Speech to PLA Discipline Inspection Work Conference, 8 May 1985).

Hong Xuezhi
Director, PLA General
Logistics Department

"We will reorganize the relationship between departments within headquarters, identify their responsibilities and establish a rational and more efficient system" (Interview with China Daily on 25 June 1985).

Wang Hai
Commander, PLA Air
Force

"The number of Air Force servicemen will be drastically cut and a large number of units above regimental level disbanded or merged. . . . It is aimed at building the Air Force into a more compact and efficient military power" (Interview given on 1 August 1985, published in China Daily).

Zhang Zhen
Deputy Chief, PLA
General Staff

"To build a modern and regular revolutionary Army, we must have a scientific and rational system of organization To meet the demands resulting from our national economic construction and the development of our Army, we have many times streamlined and reorganized our troops and unified the organization system of our entire Army" (Interview published in Liaowang, 14 June 1985).

Wu Xiuquan
Director, Beijing
Institute of Strategic
Studies

"The Chinese Government's decision to reduce the Liberation Army by one million shows its sincere desire to contribute to world peace" (In an interview published by Xinhua (Beijing), 14 June 1985).

4. ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

Defense modernization is based on the premise that first establishing a strong national economy will greatly facilitate the subsequent strengthening of the national defense structure. China's defense industry personnel, who possess a higher level of skills than most workers in civilian enterprises, have been instructed to shift efforts to constructing the national economy while ensuring the manufacture of essential military supplies. The industries identified as having the most to gain from this military-civilian industrial cooperation and integration are petroleum, communications and transport, chemicals, electric power, coal, building materials, light textiles and food industries. Improvement of any of these civilian dual-use industries eventually would greatly benefit the military.

In addition, all branches of the PLA have been directed to contribute to building the national economy. Expenditures for defense modernization are to be held low in order to ensure that adequate resources are available to carry out national construction, which in turn will hasten PLA modernization. The PLA is a major resource for supplying the trained and skilled personnel desperately needed in all sectors of the civilian economy. Military personnel, facilities, and equipment, including airfields and ports, are to be assigned or shared with civilian counterparts to expedite production and growth. The transfer of military technology to civilian industry is envisaged to speed economic development. In addition, the PLA continues to be heavily involved in agricultural and sideline production activities.

As Table C4 indicates, officials of the National Defense, Science, Technology and Industry Commission, which has been reorganized and restaffed, is heavily involved in marshalling military resources in the service of national economic development.

TABLE C4: ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|--|--|
| Deng Xiaoping Chairman, CCP and Central Military Commissions | "All branches of the PLA--such as the Air Force, the Navy and the Commission of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense--should consider releasing some of their strength to support the development of the national economy." Elsewhere, Deng stressed: "The military industry has two strong points. One is that it has advanced and adequate equipment. The other is that it has a strong technical force. The military leadership should make use of these two strong points to serve the country and contribute to economic reform in still a better way" (Speech to the Central Military Commission, 1 November 1984). |
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "We should concentrate our forces on economic construction, and national defense building has to let economic construction take precedence because the latter is an issue that concerns the overall situation. Only when the overall situation is improved, only when economic construction has shown progress and the country has become strong and the people prosperous, will there be the material foundation needed for the Army's modernization" (Interview published in <u>Liaowang</u> , 8 July 1985). |
| Zhang Aiping Minister of National Defense | "China's science, technology, and industry for national defense have acquired considerable dimensions. They represent a material and technological foundation for modernizing China's national defense, as well as an important force in the nation's economic construction. We must give full play to the role of this force in the national construction. With the exception of a number of crack units which will continue to develop and manufacture weapons and equipment, a greater part of this force will join the national economic construction" (Speech to Military Industry Forum, 9 August 1985). |

LeaderComments

Yang Dezhi
Chief of the PLA
General Staff

"If we reduce the number of armymen by one million, we will be able to save a great deal of expense for national defense each year. This will be of great benefit in concentrating our financial resources to carry out national construction and will quicken our pace in modernizing our Army" (Interview of 28 July 1985, published by Xinhua (Beijing)).

Hong Xuezhi
Director, PLA General
Logistics Department

"Economic construction is the material foundation for national defense construction, and the modernization of national defense is possible only when it is based on the development of the country's industrial and agricultural production, as well as science and technology. The state cannot further increase military spending in the near future in order to concentrate financial resources on economic construction" (Speech at All-Army Conference on logistics work, 13 December 1984).

Ding Henggao
Minister, NDSTIC

"The integration of the defense industry with civil industry and the transfer of military technology to civil use are not only necessary for civil industrial departments in maintaining their ability to undertake scientific research and production and fulfill their task in coordination with the defense industry; they are also effective ways to increase economic results and make more contributions to the state. When we really succeed in transferring military technology to civil use and in supporting the defense industry with civil industry, we will have a rich material foundation for the development of our defense industry" (Speech to Defense Industry Meeting, 4 June 1985).

Qian Xuesen
Vice Minister,
NDSTIC

"The secrecy of science and technology has a time limit, and we should have a new understanding of the scope of such secrecy which was too large in the past. Technologies whose application could have been extended were kept secret. The defense economy and the national economy supplement each other, and a proper proportion of the former in the latter can promote development of the latter" (Speech to Defense Economic Forum, 23-28 January 1985).

5. PARTY-MILITARY RELATIONS

The CCP's leading role in providing direction to China's modernization program, including those aspects relating to the military, is repeatedly recognized. Party organizations within the military are charged with conveying official policies and programs, seeing that they are well-understood, and overseeing their thorough implementation.

In addition, party rectification work within the military, now in its second phase, is focused on eradicating so-called "leftist" influences, which are identified by the phrases "taking class struggle as the key link" and "putting politics in command." These concepts basic to the Maoist traditions are currently associated with the excesses of the Cultural Revolution period. The highly emotional struggle meetings are to be replaced by more democratic discussion sessions and group cooperation; politics are to be subordinated to the study and grasp of existing conditions in determining and implementing goals. Thus, in its new cast, Marxism, as interpreted by PLA party organs, is to be used as a scientific methodology for discovering the best solution to practical problems rather than as an immutable dogma.

Party PLA organs are to eradicate certain "unhealthy practices" which arise in the course of military modernization. These include: seeking personal profit or gain from the economic reform programs; using personal position or influence to effect transfers or provide special privileges for children of cadres; awarding bonuses indiscriminately; selling scarce or critical goods on the black market; manipulating contracts in order to acquire better terms; and breaking state laws or party discipline.

Table C5 presents important statements by key leaders on "unhealthy practices" and political work within the military.

TABLE C5: PARTY-MILITARY RELATIONS

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|---|---|
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "Totally negate the 'Great Cultural Revolution' and eliminate the influence of the 'left' deviation. In order to institute reform in the Army, the key is to eliminate 'left' deviation, which has been deep-rooted in military work." "Some of the common problems are: 'taking class struggle as the key link,' 'putting politics first,' looking down upon knowledge and intellectuals, factionalism, failing to weed out the 'people of three categories,' and wielding and using power resulting from the change of position of the ruling party" (Article on PLA modernization in <u>Hongqi</u> , 1 August 1984). |
| Yu Qiuli Director, PLA General Political Department | "In order to complete its strength-reduction reorganization, the Army should rely mainly on the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and the Central Military Commission, effective ideological work, and meticulous organization work" (Speech to PLA Discipline Inspection Work Conference, 8 May 1985). |
| Wang Hai Commander, PLA Air Force | "Political work will not be neglected during or after the streamlining. The aim is not only to equip officers and soldiers with modern weapons and expertise, but also to pass on to them the lofty ideal of Communism, the discipline and other fine traditions of the PLA" (Interview given on 1 August 1985, published in <u>China Daily</u>). |
| Zhou Keyu Deputy Director, PLA General Political Department | At an All-Army Conference, Zhou stressed: "All army units must carefully check, resolutely crack down on, and seriously deal with the new malpractices, and just stop the most harmful malpractices at present, which include disregarding organization discipline, disregarding Party discipline and state laws, and disobeying orders and ignoring prohibitions. If these malpractices cannot be checked, our Party rectification will not be successful" (Speech at All-Army Conference on Second Stage Rectification in the PLA, 10 March 1985). |

LeaderComments

Qin Jiwei
Commander, Beijing
Military Region

"Now all units of the Beijing Military Region engaged in the second-stage party rectification should emphasize education to enhance Party spirit, strengthen discipline, and take the overall interests into consideration so as to set a good example" (Speech to PLA Party Cadres in Shanxi Province, 1 April 1985).

You Taizhong
Commander, Guangzhou
Military Region

"Since the implementation of special policies and flexible measure in Guangdong, we have attained remarkable achievements in various fields. However, decadent bourgeois ideas and lifestyles will seize the opportunity to corrupt our people . . . therefore, it is important to eliminate spiritual pollution. This task is a protracted and arduous one" (Speech to Guangzhou PLA Party Cadres, 31 October 1984).

Zhang Zhixiu
Commander, Kunming
Military Region

"Over the past 30 years, throughout the whole course, the Kunming Military Region has upheld in its building the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the absolute leadership of the Party over the Army, and the goal of serving the people wholeheartedly. Therefore, it has ensured the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies (Excerpts from an article by Zhang broadcast by the Guizhou Provincial Service, 30 July 1985).

6. STATE-MILITARY RELATIONS

The December 1982 Constitution approved the State Central Military Commission (CMC) as the key state body charged with "directing the Armed Forces." The State CMC is responsible for directing and managing PLA participation in state and civilian affairs through its involvement in the four modernizations, as well as its various programs to modernize the defense establishment itself.

The State CMC oversees key military personnel appointments, manages PLA financial and material resources, develops regulations, and implements statutes to provide a more modern, rational, organizational basis for the PLA. In June 1985 the CMC decided that legal instruction would now be compulsory for PLA officers and fighters. This measure is to curtail adherence to faulty procedures and to prevent breaches in discipline as the PLA increases its involvement in both civilian production and civilian-oriented defense production. Another benefit of the measure is that cadres trained in legal matters, once demobilized into the civilian economy, will become extremely useful for dealing with China's growing number of government laws and regulations.

As the PLA trims its forces, demobilized cadres are being given vocational training related to their military experience. Training is being given in politics and law, business management, finance and trade, industrial and commercial administration, agriculture and forestry, and taxation. If they perform well in this training, they will be given work assignments and will provide essential services in the civilian sector. If they fail, presumably they will be demobilized with bleak prospects in the civilian economy.

The delineation of authority between the State and the CCP Military Commission has not been publicly defined. Though the State Military Commission acts as an institutional check on Party leadership over at least the regular affairs of the military, the presiding leadership of both bodies is identical, assuring that strategic policy decisions are clearly aligned with Party direction.

Table C6 provides excerpts concerning some aspects of state-military relations.

TABLE C6: STATE-MILITARY RELATIONS

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|---|---|
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "The Armed Forces must: 1) continue to unify the understanding of the policy decision of the central authorities; 2) take the interests of the whole into account . . . and obey all orders in all actions; 3) do cadre-related work well; 4) put military equipment, military property and supplies under strict control; and 5) effectively strengthen the leadership" (Speech at the State Central Military Commission meeting, 23 May-6 June 1985). |
| Yang Dezhi Chief of PLA General Staff | "Pursuant to Chairman of the Central Military Commission Deng Xiaoping's instructions on taking the situation as a whole into consideration and working for it, the whole Army actively took part in and supported the country's economic construction" (Speech to PLA delegation on Zhao Ziyang's government work report, 28 March 1985). |
| Zhou Wenyuan Deputy Director, PLA General Political Department | "All officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army will be taught about the country's Constitution and basic laws over the next three years. The program aims at eliminating the influence of lawlessness prevalent during the 'Cultural Revolution' and running the Armed Forces on legal principles. It will also help prepare officers and men for civilian work when they are demobilized" (Speech to PLA Party cadres, 16 June 1985). |
| Xu Guangyi Deputy Director, PLA General Logistics Department | "The government has shown great concern for the PLA. We must carefully budget and properly use the funds appropriated by the state for the Army and strive to reduce the burdens of the state and the people" (Comments at PLA delegates' discussion of Zhao Ziyang's government work report, 31 March 1985). |

7. MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONS

The PLA traditionally has served as a pacesetter for publicizing and exemplifying official model behavior to the civilian population. PLA members are exhorted to exhibit discipline, self-sacrifice, patriotism, thrift, morality, and dedication to hard work in their public activities. PLA units in rural areas are active in conducting literacy campaigns as well as reportedly providing rudimentary instruction in science and technology.

The military also provides practical support to various civilian governments by constructing schools, roads, water conservancy, and other public works projects, and tree planting. Demobilized servicemen and those being transferred to civilian service are told to play an active modernizing role in local communities. The PLA also trains new recruits with long-range civilian objectives in view for demobilized servicemen.

The statements in Table C7 indicate the PLA's expanded role in efforts to raise the general cultural level of the populace and instruct local producers in modern practices and concepts. By performing those services, the PLA acts as a major instigator of change in society.

TABLE C7: MILITARY-CIVILIAN RELATIONS

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|---|---|
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission and Executive Vice Chairman, Central Military Commission | "Many Army units work together with the people to build railways, bridges, factories, and reservoirs Every year, hundreds of thousands of our fighters are demobilized or discharged from active military service. After being transferred, many of them have become key members in production . . . and able people who have succeeded in becoming rich through hard work" (Article on PLA modernization in <u>Renmin Ribao</u> , 16 September 1984). |
| He Qizong Deputy Chief, PLA General Staff | "All PLA commanders and fighters should cherish all the more the honor of our Army; have ideals, morality, and cultural knowledge, and observe discipline . . . our commanders and fighters should manifest the lofty image of armymen when they appear among the masses of the people and should take practical action to repay in kind the solicitude that the party and people have shown them" (Speaking on Beijing television wearing the new PLA uniform, 30 April 1985). |
| Qin Jiwei Commander, Beijing Military Region | "It is a development and improvement for army-people cooperation to shift from dealing with dirtiness, disorder, and poor services to carrying out the 'three-popularization' program: popularize general knowledge, scientific and technical knowledge, and legal knowledge" (Speech to a PLA unit stationed in Baoding, 26 March 1985). |
| Xiang Shouxhi Commander, Nanjing Military Region | At a February, military-government forum, Xiang stressed: "In the new year, we must follow Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instructions to subordinate ourselves to the overall objective of national construction and actively support local civilian governments' efforts to promote material and spiritual civilization" (Speech to Military-Government Forum, 8 February 1985). |

8. MILITARY TRAINING AND EDUCATION

A central problem in military modernization is training more and better qualified cadres. Beginning in September 1985, middle school students will be required to undergo basic military training. College students will take junior officer training during the first 2 years. These measures are part of an accelerated effort to shift the military establishment from a peasant-based Army to a more professional establishment led by competent and technically trained officers. Students in the junior officer program will comprise a reserve officer force, from which the PLA can draw technically competent leaders as it continues to trim its regular forces.

The number and quality of military colleges and institutes is rapidly increasing. Reportedly, there are now over 100 well-equipped institutes providing general education as well as modern military science training to student officers. In the field, combined tactical military training and coordinated military exercises involving all three PLA service arms are stressed. Improvement of the PLA's ability to fight with combined service arms, react quickly, handle sophisticated equipment, and improve logistical support is the objective. Weaknesses in these areas surfaced during the Vietnam Border War when supplies for fighting units fell short and troops lacked essential skills and mobility in the field.

Educational requirements for induction into the service differ among the service arms. The qualification level for Air Force recruits is at least a senior middle school education; officers are being required to study English in order to maintain or improve technical competency levels. Air Force pilots have college degrees or a technical secondary school education. The PLA strategic missile forces draw their recruits mainly from university graduates to staff combat and research units.

Table C8 provides statements concerning these key military reforms.

TABLE C8: MILITARY TRAINING AND EDUCATION

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|---|--|
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "While reducing the standing Army, we should step up the building of the militia and reserve service and build up specialized technical soldiers and reserve officers in accordance with the new military service law. . . . China has a large population and provided that the people are well-trained it does not make any difference if we have fewer troops in peacetime. As soon as a war breaks out, we can expand them immediately" (Article on PLA modernization in <u>Hongqi</u> , 1 August 1984). |
| Yang Dezhi Chief of the PLA General Staff | "Leading cadres should pay attention to studying and applying the science of leadership and incessantly improve their leadership, organization, and management skills. This new branch of science in studying the laws governing leadership work is not only a specialized theory for leading cadres at all levels, but is also a basic theory for training leaders" (Speech to PLA General Staff Department Forum, 20 March 1985). |
| Wang Hai Commander, PLA Air Force | "A future war requires us to boost our ability for quick response, data collection and analysis, and raise effectiveness in combined operations" (Interview given on 1 August 1985, published in <u>China Daily</u>). |
| Xiao Ke Commandant, PLA Military Academy | "Major changes will take place in the weaponry of the PLA and the quality of the middle and senior officers in 5 years. Military academies or institutes assume important responsibilities in army building . . . the military academy has decided to further institute a regular training structure and a scientific teaching system; to further raise the standard of teachers through various measures such as in-service self-study, inspection tours abroad, and the practice of going down to the grass-roots levels to function in an acting capacity; and to speed up the renovation of teaching apparatus and to step up academic exchanges with foreign troops" (Interview with PLA Military Academy Leaders, <u>Zhongguo Xinwen She</u> (Beijing), 13 June 1985). |

9. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Efforts in military research and development cover two broad areas: (1) deepening basic research in modern science and technology in order to improve military weapons and equipment, an effort to be supplemented by the selective importation of advanced technology and scientific knowledge; and (2) studying modern military science in order to improve the military leaders' understanding and conceptions of modern warfare. The importance of Mao's military contributions continues to be stressed although China's wartime strategy now emphasizes active defense rather than people's war. This new defensive strategy means that PLA military academies and training organizations research and teach fields such as cybernetics, defense economics, world military history, and a variety of military ideologies and operational and strategic concepts. Emphasis is placed on researching modern combined operations by various arms and services to improve PLA performance in modern warfare. Research on using microcomputers and lasers to simulate firing devices during military training exercises has been conducted.

In June, it was announced that a PLA Institute for Strategic Studies was established to study global and regional power strategies, strategies of major military blocs, and to offer advice for Chinese national defense policies. This new Institute is attached to the PLA Military Academy, under Commandant Xiao Ke's authority.

Table C9 provides statements by key leaders on this subject. Leaders with political responsibilities in the military pay homage to Mao Zedong's military theories before digressing toward discussions of modern military science and technology.

TABLE C9: RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|--|---|
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission, and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "It is generally said that the future war will be a three-dimensional war, a combined war, or a general war. In fact, these concepts are also developing along with the development of science and progress. Today's three-dimensional warfare has become multi-layered and overlapping warfare. Our Army is making unremitting efforts to develop in various fields to suit itself to such warfare" (Article in <u>Renmin Ribao</u> on PLA modernization, 16 September 1984). |
| Zhang Aiping Minister of National Defense | "Strengthening the work of advanced research is the prerequisite to and forerunner of the development of science and technology. Whether it be in developing weapons and military equipment or in producing goods for civilian use, we must, first of all, pay attention to our advanced research work" (Speech at NDSTIC meeting held 15 November 1984). |
| Yang Dezhi Chief of PLA General Staff | "In recent years, our study in the field of military science has been noticeably enlivened. PLA leading organs, military academies, and a number of PLA units have set up military sciences research committees or research groups and sponsored debates on military science. They study theoretical questions such as military ideology, concept of operations, strategy and tactics and such new subjects as theory of information, the theory of system, and the theory of control, on which only a few people dared to make inquiries in the past. The study of military science has received universal attention (Speaking at forum to inaugurate <u>Waijun Liaowang</u> [Foreign Military Affairs], 20 March 1985). |

Leader

Hong Xuezhi
Director, PLA General
Logistics Department

Comments

"It is of great significance to engage in research on defense economics, a new science. Defense construction should be suited to national economic construction and subordinated to the overall interests of national construction. It is imperative to make better use of the limited defense expenditure. We can avoid blindness and detours and accelerate the modernization of national defense by engaging in research in defense economics" (Speech to Defense Economics Forum, 23-28 January 1985).

10. WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT DEVELOPMENT

In general, policies for weapons and equipment modernization stress self-reliance. Some weapons, mainly highly technical ones, may be imported, although China prefers to rely on indigenous efforts.

Modernization efforts extend to all the service arms. Chinese-produced aircraft, largely copies from 1950 Soviet models, are being technologically upgraded. Ground forces and naval units are being improved by detection control and communications systems for launching long-range guided missiles and submarine-based missiles. In April 1984, a geosynchronous communications satellite was launched. China's strategic missile troops are being expanded and reportedly have the capacity to retaliate with strategic nuclear weapons including intermediate and long-range missiles. Nie Rongzhen, in an article tracing the history of China's nuclear weapons development program,* pointed out the long and difficult road China has had to follow in developing an independent nuclear capability. In order to avoid repeating that tortuous course, the PLA has sought outside support for acquiring highly technical items such as automated weapons control systems, lasers, and night vision equipment.

China claims success in developing its weapons and equipment program including,

- more efficient and accurate light weapons (submachineguns and automatic rifles),
- new models of heavy caliber canons,
- tanks and armored vehicles,
- improved artillery field pieces and rockets, and
- automatic anti-aircraft canons.

China also professes an 11-fold increase in the number of major naval combatants, some allegedly equipped with missiles. The Kyodo News Agency (Japan) reported that China has designed, built, and commissioned a nuclear-powered submarine.

Table C10 provides key leaders' comments on weapons and equipment development.

*Published in Beijing Review, 29 April 1985.

TABLE C10: WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT DEVELOPMENT

| <u>Leader</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|---|---|
| Yang Shangkun Permanent Vice Chairman, CCP Military Commission, and Executive Vice Chairman, State Military Commission | "In developing weapons and equipment, we should make overall arrangements and do scientific planning. First of all, we should stress the main point and concentrate our forces on developing the most urgently needed defensive weapons and equipment. Second, we should update the equipment in an orderly way, allowing the coexistence of outmoded and modern equipment and of ordinary and advanced technology. In modernizing our Army, we should import some necessary and advanced technological equipment. However, it will not do to rely on purchasing advanced technological equipment nor can we afford it. We may purchase some weapons and equipment but we should base ourselves on independence and self-reliance and rely on our own strength to develop weapons and equipment" (Article on PLA modernization in <u>Hongqi</u> , 1 August 1984). |
| Zhang Aiping Minister of National Defense | "Apart from modern conventional weapons, we also have a variety of missiles for different purposes and various types of strategic nuclear weapons. All these were designed, developed, and produced by China itself. To put it simply, we did everything ourselves. This is the hallmark of our Armed Forces' advance toward modernization" (Interview published in <u>Renmin Ribao</u> , 3 October 1984). |
| Yang Dezhi Chief of the PLA General Staff | "The weapons used by an Army currently are obsolete compared with those in the laboratories. When war breaks out, the weapons that are now just blueprints will be turned into weapons in the hands of the Army. So obtaining information only by observing the present military equipment of foreign armies will not enable us to see clearly the true features of future war" (Speech to military science researchers, 20 March 1985). |

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